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PRINCIPLES OF
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PRINCIPLES OF COMPARATIVE ECONOMICS

By

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PRINCIPLES OF COMPARATIVE ECONOMICS.

PART III.

THE REGIONAL ECONOMICS OF INDIA.

A. THE ECONOMIC IDEAL OF COMMUNALISM.

CHAPTER I.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL GROUPING IN THE EAST AND THE WEST.

Family as Social Unit.—The fundamental unit of civilised society is not the individual but the family. Without the family no other social groups are possible. The family leads the individual out of his seclusion, deprives him of his egoistic selfishness and lifts him to a more elevated selfishness in order that he can enjoy a higher life with his fellow individuals. In the family relation a man first of all learns to live for others. Without this discipline higher social relations are impossible. It is for this reason that the disintegration of the family is a menace to social existence. The family is the foundation of society ; its disintegration threatens the foundations of social life.* The individual by himself cannot act effectively in civilised society. By himself he cannot enjoy the fruits of civilisation.

Social progress finds man in many social groups. Each of these groups moulds and re-shapes a man. It expresses and develops a particular phase of man's personality.

But the foundation of them all is the family, which is at once the unit of activity and the unity of enjoyment, which supplies as it were the link of all social relationships.

In the West this link is being snapped asunder on account of the disintegration of the home. The industrial and social conditions, the laxity of marriage laws and the frequency of divorce have all contributed to that.

When the uniting and disciplinary forces are weakened individuals are a prey to passions, the caravan spirit. The family has been the centripetal force; the passions are the centrifugal forces which now become dominant.

Sectional *versus* Social Interests.—When the family which is the bond of social co-operation is weakened, individual egoism would force social groups into distinct classes, not cultural or likeness-groups, but each with a bundle of exclusive interests to defend. Each individual would find that his self-interest is made effective by the formation of special groups to promote it. If these latter had an unchecked play, the whole society would be rent asunder by the conflict of antagonistic groups.

That is the contrast between labour organisations, trade unions, employers' associations, landlords' associations and so forth, and the caste, the guild, religious brotherhood of the church and *samaj*. Trade unions or employers' guilds do not represent the mass of human interests as are embodied in such institutions as the family or the church. The family and the church are therefore communal, properly representative of society as a whole, and not of sectional interests and well-being.

In the West, each social group focusses the interests of a particular class so effectively, and presents the strength of numbers so forcibly, that it is apt to act as a coercive authority. In the East, out of each group an ethical standard, an element of public opinion, comes which rises into a principle which society cannot oppose. That is the difference between the coercion of Marx and the coercion exercised by the guild, the *samaj*, the village commonwealth, and the religious association in India. In the same way the solidarity and collectivity of the Chinese family, the clan, the guild

and the village gentry have developed to such a degree that their rules, i.e., the crystallised agreements, are most rigorously observed, and their interests and dignity most jealously defended, against both internal violation and external infringement by each individual.

The disintegration of the family in the West has strengthened and is strengthened by the forces and feelings of the individual egoism of man which occasion mutual warfare, war against society, and war against himself. This has warped the other social groups from their natural lines of development. Carried to excesses and acerbated as they are apt to be, they become coercive agents for carrying out exclusive interests antagonistic to social welfare. Nowhere is coercion more marked than in industrial conflicts, though politics is also becoming too much a wrangle for power of party groups which force their judgment upon the whole community.

The present machinery of settling labour disputes in the West does not work satisfactorily, because each industrial group carries such a load of dogmatism, develops such a strong anti-social group-opinion and adopts methods so coercive on the rest of the community.

Eastern Co-operation *versus* Western Compulsion.

—In the East, group action is social; social progress is evolved through the co-operation of the social groups. This is what I term communalism. If this free development were possible and monopolistic or theocratic tendencies were not to come into play, there would be no outside control of one group by another. If there were conflict of groups, the individual would form his judgment independently on moral grounds and would not be coerced by any group, be it the trade or industrial organisation, the family, or even the state itself.

In the West one group tends to coerce another, and all coerce society. This implies that the natural evolution of society is checked. This again implies revolutions. Group-opinion is thus apt to be dogmatic and anti-social, and group-action is revolutionary in the West.

The East does not know of compulsory education, or

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compulsory' military training. Communalism secures the same results without the adoption of the coercive methods of the West. In India among the *dwijas*, viz., the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas—in other words, among the members of the personality-social class—higher education was universal under the unwritten social and ethical code ; while every boy or girl of the village would receive the elements of primary education in the village monastery or temple supported by the whole community. Thus group-action under favourable circumstances contributed to the same fitness as is sought to be achieved in the West by state activities and functions. Neither state-socialism with its dogmatic suppression of group-opinion, nor anarchism impatient of group-control, really belongs to the East. Throughout the East group-interests correspond to public welfare. Society acts through vital modes of association. It is this success which makes opinion conservative and activity traditional. Thus communalism characterises the oldest and most conservative nations in the world now living, China and India. Conservatism is not always a sin, because it is born of bitter experience of failure.

The haughty imperialist, the rapacious millionaire, or the uncompromising labour-leader are the wildest of revolutionaries. Earth-hunger and wealth-hunger are each born of a social order where failure has embittered the social tone and destroyed social restraints.

Communalism implies an internal success which uproots dogmatism and revolutionary ideas. In communalism group-opinion and group-action are essentially social and co-operative.

Chinese Communalism.—In China, as in India, the internal administration of the country is managed entirely by voluntary associations which co-operate with one another. Like India, China is a huge republic within which are myriads of petty republics. Like the Indian village community, the Chinese village has perfect freedom of industry and trade, of religion and everything that concerns the government, regulation and protection of the locality. The central government plays but an insignificantly small part in the

village life. Police, education, public health, public repairs of roads and canals, lighting and innumerable other functions are managed by the villagers themselves through voluntary associations. In fulfilling so gigantic a network of duties a village inevitably comes in contact with other villages, sometimes in friendly and occasionally very hostile relations. Thus a sort of inter-village commercial treaties arise between, and aggressive and defensive alliances are entered into by, a considerable group of villages.

China, whether monarchical or republican in form, is but a great aggregate of democratic communities ordering their affairs peacefully and happily in the main, through the government of the heads of families.

The Family in China and India.—As in India, the family is the fundamental unit of society in China.

In its economic aspect the family both in China and India already holds in solution some of the ideals of Socialism. Any one's earnings are for the good of all. A sort of socialism is practised within the family, while at the same time the system does not sacrifice the individual.

Unlike the Roman family, all the minor members of the Chinese family are persons and not chattels, whose rights and duties are well defined. It is sometimes said that this family system drags down the individual from self-development. This is to judge the working of the Eastern system by the logic of the West. With us self-development is by no means sacrificed for the good of the family. "A well-regulated family is made possible only by the self-culture of the individuals comprising it," so said Confucius. The communal family has its serious abuses as well when it falls off from the above ideal of Confucius, as has been the case in the history of China, where the suppression of the legitimate individuality of a family member has been the outcome of the opposing principle of communalism carried to excess. Thus the family in China is collectively and directly responsible for all the civil and criminal liabilities of each member. No such obliteration of individualism is seen in the Indian family. Within the Indian family there has been great development

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towards individualism. This may be attributed to the Buddhist movement with its emphasis of individual ethics which resulted in bringing into prominence individual property rights to a great extent.

The Clan in India and China.—The clan both in India and China represents one step in advance towards a larger unit in society than the family. The clan is a gathering of families. Throughout China and Northern India villages are still called after the name of the clan inhabiting them. In China the members of the whole clan usually have a common ancestral temple; otherwise they have a common ancestral temple where only very remote ancestors are worshipped, while each family has its own temple of ancestors pertaining to its own branch. All members, whether rich or poor, have the same rights and privileges in the ancestral hall. The functions of the ancestral hall are numerous. They are social, economic, educational and judicial. Schools are provided in the ancestral hall. When conflict occurs between the members, it is referred to the ancestral hall, where all the evidences and arguments are introduced. The board of elders exercises the functions of the Indian *punchayet*.

Within a clan the different families who may be rich or poor, but as a rule the families are better off collectively, relieve the poor families of the same clan. The clan may jointly possess property, the income from which covers the expenses of ancestral worship and the repair of grave-yards. Since the ancestral hall property consists chiefly of land and ready cash, the poor members are privileged to rent the land at a very low rental and borrow the money at a very low rate of interest. The rich members, on the other hand, continuously contribute towards the increase of the ancestral property. Thus, the ancestral hall serves to eliminate the problems relating to the inequalities of wealth and opportunities, as between the landlord and tenant, and between the capitalist and the labourer.

The Chinese Village Temple.—Another centre of Chinese village life is the village temple, which is the common centre of social life for all villagers irrespectively of their

clans. This is a temple of some deified personage, sometimes a great *litterateur* or a great warrior. The inter-village treaties and alliances are all entered into by the various temples. The village elders who are at the same time officers of the temple and the *chi-yuen* are the connecting links, in some cases extremely weak indeed, between the village and central government. The village temple provides for the proper police of the village. It is in charge of lighting, it repairs roads, canals and landing-places, furnishes adequate defence-works, etc. It also supplies free schooling to the village children when it is either not carried out or inadequately supplied by the different ancestral halls. It also supplies free doctoring, medicine and burial and such-like relief.

From the point of view of local government it is an institution full of potentialities in the future. The sources of its income are :

(1) Like the ancestral hall, it owns agricultural lands which are let out to the villagers, irrespectively of clan.

(2) The market of the village held in its front is also a source of income.

(3) The temple itself is a source of considerable income.

There are three classes of land-holders in China : (1) The village temple ; (2) The ancestral halls ; (3) Private individuals. The proportion belonging to each element varies. In general, the larger proportion is owned by private individuals, while the land belonging to the temple and ancestral³ halls is invariably let to those who possess none of their own.

So far, both the clan system and the village organisation have withstood the growth of towns.

Caste System in India.—In India the common temple of the Chinese which symbolises the co-operative unity, not merely of the religious but also of the social and economic activity of the community, has not been seen. But the development of the elaborate caste organisation is characteristic of India. The caste often serves as the trade-guild which protects the standard of work as well as the standard of life and comfort of the artisans. The caste lays down strict rules

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of industry and trade. It exercises to a limited extent the functions of a benefit society, or an accident or insurance association, and gives old age pensions. Sub-castes as well have important socio-economic significance. I have elsewhere¹ shown that the formation of castes has often corresponded with an upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation. As artisans and traders rise in the economic scale, in every step in the rise there is a ramification of the caste into groups, marking an ascent in the social ladder.

In some cases the adoption of a degrading occupation by certain families has spelt social disaster for that section, and, though still retaining the caste name, they are compelled to marry amongst themselves and thus form a sub-caste.

In other instances the converse is the case, and a group that abandons a disreputable occupation or commands social respect by the adoption of the customs (and restrictions) of higher castes, itself attains in time to a higher social grade.

Thus, we find in Bombay the upper section of *nadars* looked down upon because they commenced making salt, the *rangari* or dyeing division of *shimpis* and the *haldi malis* who prepare turmeric-halad.

On the other hand, comes the shining example of the *chandlagar*, *chilara* and *rasonia* sub-castes of *mochis* who gave up leather work and took to making spangles, painting and electroplating. As a result they are treated like reputable artisans and do not touch their brother *mochis*.

In the Panjab the *desi kumhars* rarely engage in making earthen vessels: although this seems to be the original trade of the tribe, they look down upon it and take to it only in extremity. They have a higher status than their fellows from Jodhpur who still work in clay. Many of them who have no land of their own engage in agricultural labour rather than in potter's work. Similarly the *suttrars*, who are most exclusively devoted to agriculture, look down upon the trade of the carpenter which they follow only

¹ *Foundations of Indian Economics* (Longmans), p. 37.

when in poor circumstances. They keep aloof from the *khati* or carpenter who works in wood.

It is especially characteristic how many of the lower castes have taken to agriculture and despise their former occupation, and separate themselves from those who still follow it.

Perhaps the most remarkable example of the upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation is to be seen among the workers in cloth and tanned leather who rank higher than makers of the raw materials. All the tribes, *chamar*, *bhambi*, *meghwal*, *dhed*, *julaha*, *paoli*, *mochi*, engaged in weaving coarse cloth and working in tanned leather are originally the same race, or at all events closely connected, and perhaps of aboriginal descent. The *chamars* are divided into several distinct sections which will not intermarry with each other. The *chandor chamars* will not associate with the *jatiya chamars* who (they say) work in leather made from camels' and horses' skins, which is an abomination to the former. On the other hand the *marwari chamars*, settled at Delhi who make trips in the Panjab in the cold weather selling leather ropes in the villages, refuse to have any connection with the local *chamars*, who (they say) tan leather and eat the flesh of animals that have died; while they work only in leather already tanned.

The stationary village *lohars* look down upon itinerant *gadiya lohars* who have no fixed home, but go about from village to village in carts (*gadi*) carrying their families and implements with them. Similarly, the wandering musicians and actors rank low because of their nomadic life and also because their women often dance or act, and sometimes prostitute themselves.

The washerman ranks low because he handles the dirty clothes of other people. The hunters are looked down upon because of their uncertain jungle life. The *dhanaks*, who occupy a low position on account of their dirty work, yet consider themselves superior to the *chuhras* because, although they sweep up and carry away everything else, they do not, as the *chuhras*, clean up night soil.

A very characteristic instance of social differentiation is to

be found among the *teli* castes of the Central Provinces. The hereditary occupation of the caste is oil-pressing, but a large majority have abandoned it and become cultivators. They are subdivided into *ekbaila*, *dobaila*, *erandia*, *sao* and *gandli*. *Ekbaila telis* use only one bullock in their oil mill, while *dobailas* use two. *Sao-telis* are mainly cultivators and grow sugar-cane and rice. *Sao*, meaning "banker," is a title of respect. The *gandlis* are landowners, traders, and money-lenders and aspire to be classed as *banyas*. Some of them have adopted the sacred thread of the *dvija* or twice-born. They appear to have raised their social status by change of occupation, and in their case this was perhaps rendered easier by the fact that they are Telugus by race and immigrants to the district. *Erandia telis* are socially the lowest sub-caste and they alone extract castor oil (*eranda*). Oil-pressing in any form, but especially castor oil, is regarded as a vulgar occupation, and most *telis* are anxious to rise in society by abandoning it.

The same social differentiation, due to an upward economic movement, is seen among the Christian converts. In Tuticorin, however, the upper circles of Parava society are divided between those who support the authority of the *Jathitalavaimore* and those who do not. The adherents of this chief are generally known as *mesaikarar*, i.e., "those who eat at a table," a practice derived by the Paravans from their intercourse with the Portuguese. This class consists mostly of well-to-do merchants; and in opposition to them is the party, sometimes called *hamarakkarar*, also consisting partly of merchants but including boat-owners and others, who impugn the authority of their professed caste-leader and resent his social interdictions. Roughly speaking, merchants are *mesaikarar*; boatmen and fishermen are not.

Many of these classes to some extent merge in each other, but when a better economic position or a less degraded work gives a clear superiority in status, the higher sub-group ceases to consort with the lower in smoking, eating and marrying, and gradually, by an inevitable course of development, is differentiated into a new caste. In the West, men

who attain success in industry occupy a higher social position, which wealth gives, or are rewarded with titles of distinction. Here, not individuals but individuals formed into groups, when they rise in the economic scale, reward themselves with a higher status and society has got to recognise it.

Guilds in China.—In China there is the artisans' guild which resembles the Indian artisans' caste in many ways, but it has not reached a highly complex development nor shown the elaborate social stratification that the latter represents in India. Still the workers, both masters and apprentices, form a multitude of small groups, each in their own locality. They meet occasionally, when entertainments are arranged for all artisans belonging to the guild. Each guild has a president, a secretary and an executive board, as the city guilds have in India. All guild matters are brought up before these heads, and, if the latter think it worth while, are submitted to the whole body.

In China, as well as in India, there is also the merchants' guild. Traders have their own guilds, for instance the silk-guild, the dry goods guild. The morals of the trade are strictly observed. Members violating the regulations are expelled from the guild. The Chinese merchants are middlemen, pure and simple, their profit is generally very limited, unlike that of capitalists who possess the machinery both of production and exchange. It is the collectivity and solidarity of these trade-guilds that answer for the stability of the Chinese market and hence for social peace. They check the competition that would, in the long run, injure all the economic classes. As in India, their function is to settle disputes arising between their own members, and controversies with other guilds. Like many of the Indian guilds, they fix the rate of exchange, the rate of interest and the date for the settlement of accounts. In addition to these services they provide, as do the Indian guilds, public improvements and strive towards the internal development of their trade. Bishop Bashford's description of the efficiency of the Chinese guilds is applicable to the guild organisation of India. "The democratic management of

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industrial and economic affairs through the guilds, and the democratic origin of industrial and commercial law, furnish the historic and economic basis for the democratic character of Chinese civilisation. Indeed, so firmly is the authority of the guild established in settling commercial and industrial disputes, that the government recognises guild rules in all trials, giving them the rank of statute laws. In China, the guilds or voluntary organisations combined through their chief representatives frequently discharge the functions of a Board of Trade, a City Council, a Board of Charities, and a Board of Arbitration—all with semi-official powers." The Bishop's suggestion is interesting. The labour-unions of the United States might profit greatly by sending a representative to China to gather the constitutions of the Chinese guilds and to make on the spot a thorough study of their practical management for the larger and better organisation of the industrial forces of the Western world.¹

Eastern and Western Social Ideals and Results.—

It is characteristic that though the East has not proposed to itself the ideal of mere mechanical efficiency, it has shown a remarkable skill in the management of the affairs of men. The advanced methods of science and the scientific organisation of industry have led in the West to an enormous increase of efficiency in production, but vital values have been sacrificed and the organisation of social groups has exhibited marked defects in certain important directions. Both in politics and in industry, fitness and efficiency have been pursued to the detriment of some of the fundamental and elemental values of life. In the East the increase of efficiency, industrial and political, has been circumscribed by the restricted natural and social needs suited to the peculiar natural and historical environment. Race psychology has led to a greater emphasis on the satisfaction of the few primary needs than on comforts and luxuries (which multiply beyond limits in the West), and of the intellectual and spiritual

¹ The above account of Chinese institutions is based on *Town and Village Life in China* (London School of Economics publication) and "The Bases of Democracy in China," by Kia-Lok Yen (*International Journal of Ethics*, Jan. 1918).

needs (which have been relegated to the background in the West). The historical conditions have favoured the development of petty republics, characterised by a high degree of local autonomy and unarrested growth rather than the organisation of a central governing power. Not wedded to the ideal of mere efficiency, fitness and quantity, the East has found scope for the unarrested increase of the complex values of life, has sought quality more than quantity, and well-being more than mechanical efficiency, and, by the emphasis of natural relationships based on primary needs and instincts, rather than contractual ones, has built up a social fabric where progress is achieved by spontaneous group-action and not by state-control and state-interference. In her social organisation the mother East has been guided by her natural instinct which is itself the wisdom of nature, by her strong human sympathies, and her communistic and collectivistic sense which have welded autonomous individuals and social groups into a harmonious co-operation for the common realisation of the ends of society, ends which are quite in keeping with those of Universal Humanity. Rousseau's famous diatribe on civilisation, that man was born free and is now everywhere in chains, is becoming more and more true of the West, where society, in the pursuit of a mechanical ideal of efficiency, is ignoring the true interests of organic efficiency and culture, and for that end is stretching its limbs, like those of an octopus, into those domains of the private personal life within which the individual is rightful sovereign for the imperative need and inalienable right of self-realisation. Social grouping in the West has been determined almost entirely by the instincts of appropriation and aggression, manifested in the form of a yearning after productivity and exploitation. In this social scheme the concrete personality has been relegated to the background, and only a fragment has been hypostatised as the true individual. In the East, social grouping has been the outcome of a vital *elan* in the direction of natural and human relationships. Consequently social grouping or stratification in the East always tends to ensure the satisfaction of the totality of human interests

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that constitute the personality. In industrial and political business, which is really the management of the affairs of men, the handling of machines, industrial or political, does not mean the same as the handling of living personalities, individuals or groups. Trusts and cartels, federations and empires, may imply a high degree of efficiency; but as industrial machines produce monotony of work and life, and hamper the originality of creative genius, they in their turn govern whole societies under the steam-roller of dead routine and uniformity, and, in the pursuit of economic and administrative efficiency, destroy the conditions for the free realisation of the totality of needs and interests of individual and social units. The communalism of the East has achieved efficiency in its own way and, in adaptation to the simple but total needs of individual and social life, suited to the environment; it has secured economy and justice by a healthy and diffused distribution of wealth and population, of work and leisure in a well-organised and efficient system of agriculture, arts and crafts; through decentralisation in administration it has developed the autonomy of local bodies and assemblies to an extent unknown in the West; and by its emphasis of the primary values of life, of human instincts and sympathies, of a social and humanistic valuation, it stands for much that is noble in enjoyment, art and religion—in other words, for true culture instead of the bare materialistic and mechanical ideal which has given a wrong trend to the civilisation of the West.

CHAPTER II.

THE FAMILY AS THE FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY.

Modern Industry Destructive to Home Life.—One of the worst injuries the modern system of industry has inflicted is the breaking up of family life. There is a growing tendency to employ women and children away from their homes. The employment of women destroys their self-respect ; as such this is a menace to the virtue and integrity of the family. The homes of the labourers are in the slums and tenements. Great Britain has her infamous slums. On the Continent of Europe most of the larger cities, and Berlin especially, have large barracks or tenements. Everywhere throughout the cities in Great Britain the city cellars and garret dwellings are in common use, dark and dingy, where the manhood and vigour of the nations are being destroyed. It has been estimated that there are no fewer than two and a half millions of people living in London for whom better homes are required. But the problem is undoubtedly at its worst in New York. There are blocks packed close with huge, grimy tenements ; these tenements are honeycombed with rooms ; these rooms are homes for the people. To squeeze in more homes light and air are slowly shut out. Halls, courts, air-shafts are all left cramped and deep and sunless. There are blocks of a thousand homes. There is very little privacy. Every loud word spoken reaches the ears of a large number of people. The words of a ribald song are flung out shamelessly to all within hearing, whether they choose or not. In blocks so congested dissipation comes easily. Children of both sexes have to sleep with their parents, and often with strangers, in the same room, often even in the same bed. The advantages of domesticity are lost. It is these bad

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housing conditions that are the cause of the increasing alcoholism, of the break-up of the family and of the lack of education for the young. Foul air, darkness, wretched surroundings, these work on the home by day and night. Here a thousand homes struggle on, while hundreds yield and sink and so pollute the others. So come squalid homes and wretched meals. So come hundreds of others, men and women, young and old, drunk, bestial, vile and brutal. Lastly come the street-walkers, both men and women, who have no homes, and have fallen irrevocably from virtue.

Health laws, police regulations, housing legislation will not be able of themselves to remedy this positive danger to civilisation.

City Life Adverse to the Family.—The social conditions associated with city life in the West effect the disintegration of the home and the monogamous family. The communistic urban habits are distinctively unfavourable to the principles upon which family life is based. Paul Gohre has described his experience in a German industrial community, where men work all day in a common shop, eat their luncheon in crowds, seek their entertainments in throngs, travel in a mob, and, before marriage, satisfy their sexual appetites in a common brothel. The same phenomena may be observed in any large industrial town in the East or the West.

In cities the cost of living is higher than in the country; and there is continual anxiety as to wages and employment in the present, added to a terrible anxiety as to existence in the future. It is for this reason that there is less desire for offspring in cities than in the country. The child insures the integrity of the family. Families without children under the social and industrial conditions of the city are less stable than families with offspring in the country. The evil influences of city-life upon the population, both in weakening vitality and in diminishing the birth-rate, are now recognised. Not only is the birth-rate smaller but the death-rate in cities is generally higher than in the villages.

Death-rates in City and Country.—The death-rates

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in city and country by age periods per 1,000 population of corresponding age in the U.S. are given below :—

	Under 1.	Under 5.	5 to 14.	15 to 24.	25 to 34.	35 to 44.	45 to 64.
Registration Area . .	165·4	52·1	4·3	6·4	9·0	11·5	22·1
Registration Cities . .	179·9	57·6	4·7	6·7	9·6	12·6	24·8
Registration States .	159·3	49·9	3·8	5·7	8·3	10·5	20·3
Cities . .	184·7	59·7	4·3	5·9	9·1	12·1	24·3
Rural .	117·4	34·4	3·2	5·3	6·8	8·0	15·7

In every period of life the death-rate in the country is much lower. And this is especially true of infancy and very old age.

The death-rate of infants in cities is especially marked. The death-rate of children from all causes in England and Wales in 1904 was 51·62 per 1,000 ; 60·69 in urban counties, and 38·14 in rural counties. The highest death-rate among children was Lancashire, 67·67 ; the next highest was Durham, 62·37 ; while London came twelfth. The lowest death-rate was in the county of Westmorland, 24·02. The difference between the death-rate of an industrial district like Lancashire (67·67) and that of a rural district like Westmorland (24·02) is full of significance. The greater death-rate is due to (1) vice, (2) unhealthy occupations, (3) poverty, (4) insanitary homes, causes which are entangled with one another. In Germany, the birth-rate for the entire community is from 4 to 6 per cent. higher than for cities.

In the Panjab the urban death-rate in 1916 was 34·98, and the rural rate 30·28, as against 36·17 and 36·75 respectively. Lahore and Multan had rates of 36·47 and 35·21 and Amritsar 39·94. As regards the birth-rates, the provincial birth-rate is 45·6 per thousand. Amritsar had the highest birth-rate, 49, Multan 48 and Lahore only 40. In the Bombay presidency the death-rates in 1916 for rural and urban areas were 34·75 and 43·71, against 27·56 and 32·36 in 1915 respectively.

Infant Mortality—Causes.—Dr. George Newman in his book *Infant Mortality* has concluded from his studies

in Great Britain that 30 per cent. of infant mortality are due to premature birth. This and other anti-natal causes he finds largely due to economic causes in the increased stress of modern life and particularly to the increase of woman's work. Recent German medical investigations have also shown the intimate connection between high infant mortality and woman's work, particularly in mills, working often during advanced pregnancy and too soon after birth. Ignorance in the preparation of food, ill-ventilated tenements and, in many cases, unavoidable neglect occasioned by mothers being obliged to work away from their children, seem to be prime factors in the high mortality among children.

City Slums and Degeneracy.—The congested slums and overcrowded latrines in our industrial cities have their deleterious effects not merely on health and physical energy, but also they lower the tone of domestic life and in fact lead to criminality and vice. The relation between the house accommodation and vice is now coming gradually to be recognised. More and more we recognise how many times in Bombay, Calcutta or Cawnpore family breakdowns may be traced back ultimately to such external conditions as these: a *chawl* or *busti* so small that there is no place for family gatherings; a father and a mother whose hours of labour are so long that they cannot share their children's lives; absence of privacy so as to make domestic life impossible.

In Bengal, in a *busti* by the river Hooghly which I visited recently, I took the measurement of the rooms. One verandah was barely 2 ft. wide, and 6 ft. long. In a corner there were three hearths. From the verandah I entered a room which was 4 ft. wide and 8 ft. long. It was pitch dark. There was a window, but I had not been able to recognise it as such but for a chink 3 ins. wide. This thatched hut with the room and the verandah was occupied by three persons, two brothers and a sister, all grown up. In a section there was a row of twenty such rooms. There is only one entrance, the lane is a receptacle for all sorts of refuse and indescribable filth. In one corner there were

cows who were contributing to the hoard of dirt. The row of twenty huts belongs to a factory hand. One of them had collected some money and, leasing a plot of land, built some huts near his own. There are twenty huts, each of which earns a rent of Re. 1-2-0 per week for the owner. In each of the blocks there is one privy, which is meant for the use of sixty persons, men and women, and which has little privacy. Its rent is 1½ as. per week per head. The rent of the lodging covers more than 25 per cent. of the working men's income. The rooms are so dark and dirty and so small that every one who lives in the *busti* lives in an environment that is more or less unfavourable to a normal life. They are centres of poverty, disease, vice and crime. They are places where the childhood, youth and womanhood of India are being brutalised. And there were 1,200 of such huts where 4,000 of our labourers, herded together like beasts, men, women and children, were being transformed into brutes.

A Peasant's Cottage.—In comparison with the slum, the peasant's dwelling is much more comfortable and accommodating. The following is a brief description of a typical cottage in an Orissan village. It is divided into the outer, or *sador*, the central and the back or inner divisions. Each of these consists of two rooms, round which verandahs run as round as the outer enclosure. The *sador* room is open to all, but the rest of the dwelling is private. There is the *thakur ghar* or room for worship. Besides these there are also a sitting-room, two bedrooms, a room for keeping valuables, a room with a platform for keeping stores and implements, and a cowshed. In the centre is an open courtyard, a quadrangle with a *tulsi munch*. There is a stock of paddy in a corner.

Country Life Favours Health and Morality.—Farm life in the country contains all the elements that go to the making of a strong and vigorous manhood. In Ireland, where the agricultural population is proportionately much larger than in Great Britain (44 per cent. ; in Great Britain only 8 per cent. of the population are engaged in agriculture), the best specimens of British manhood are to be seen,

although the Irish peasantry are poor and chronically underfed.

In the countryside the moral standard is much higher than in cities. Vice prospers in secrecy. In the villages there are no hiding-places for vice, which, however, can stalk abroad openly in the streets of cities where people do not know one another. The disproportion between the sexes in the cities also encourages vice. In India, in the mill and factory towns, the males outnumber the females by 2 to 1. In Bombay and Howrah there are only 530 and 562 females to every 1,000 males. In villages or in non-manufacturing towns the sexes are equally represented, or the female element predominates a little.

In the country the whole family collaborates in agricultural work. Even the children, little boys and girls, have their accustomed duties. The co-operation in work that is of common interest and that increases the common family income protects the integrity of the family, and cements the bonds of family relationships. In India the economic usefulness of the family group, its religious significance and its relation to the holding of property, ensure the solidarity of the joint family, and make for the permanence of the institution. The joint family is bound to the plot of land which is worked in common for the common interest. Nothing can break the joint family so long as agriculture remains unbroken.

Family Land Ownership and Cultivation.—In the beginning of cultivation, as the tribe takes possession of land after having cleared it, each family which has participated in the enterprise takes a share. The land owned in severalty by individual families is not only inherited but invariably also is divided, on the occasion of separation of property, in strict accordance with ancestral shares. The members of the family often divide the land among themselves for convenience of cultivation, more in accordance with the appliances at the disposal of each than with the proprietary shares, just as the common land is allotted to the various families on a similar scale. But this division is not as division of property. The family is known to

consist of sons, grandsons and great grandsons, each of whose proportional right depends on his birth and place in the table of descent.

The general custom is that a body of agnates are co-heirs, that the father is the head while he lives, but that his sons have inchoate rights with him from the moment of their birth. The great object is to preserve the family property to the agnates. Under no circumstances can a land-owner make a gift of land out of the cognate community.

The Muhammadan tribes also follow the above custom. Some of them are converts, no doubt, but original Mussal-mans like Pathans and others also follow it.

The obvious reason is that the solidarity both of the family and the community bound by natural and tribal ties to the soil is essential to successful agriculture. A will or bequest, a sale of land to an outsider is bound in the long run to react on agricultural industry, and is opposed by the agricultural community in the interests of self-preservation.

There is no doubt that the strict Muhammadan law of inheritance, with its complicated exclusion of one branch in the presence of another and so on, is unsuitable for agricultural wealth, though it succeeded well when wealth was chiefly in camels and merchandise in a nomadic stage.

The joint family and the tribe guard their exclusive interests in the soil against outsiders who may jeopardise agriculture. The joint family is tied to the land, and devotes its exclusive attention to land improvement. But the corporate character of the joint family and the agrarian community, which has been the outcome of characteristic physiographical conditions which demand economic co-operation, as well of a strong endowment of communal instincts which have maintained and developed various communal institutions, is now gradually being lost as a result of the inroads of Western law which is obsessed by extreme individualistic notions and absolute rights of appropriation and possession.

The Hindu Joint Family.—The disturbing influences of a legislation and administration based on the individualistic Romano-Gothic concept of property are exhibited, not

merely in the case of the Indian agrarian distribution, but also in the case of the joint family which like the former has been built up by a rich native endowment of communal instincts. The joint family, or the family "joint in food, worship and estate," still forms the unit of Hindu society. It consists of a body of kinsmen who dwell under the same roof, preserve a common hearth and common meals, who offer a common sacrifice to the same ancestor and who own their property in common. Although the modern law gives such facilities for its dissolution that it is fast becoming one of the most unstable of social compounds, still, so long as it lasts, it has a legal corporate existence and exhibits in the most perfect state the community of proprietary enjoyment. The property belongs to the family; any one acquiring and retaining the status of being its member has certain rights over the family property and his rights cease on the extinction of that status. As regards the enjoyment also of the joint property, the family is a single entity. So long as the members choose to continue in a state of commensality and joint fruition and enjoyment of the property, they cannot be said to possess individually any several proprietary right. And until partition there is no sense of the word in which a single member can be said to be an owner of more than a possibility of acquiring something. It is true that on a partition he would get a share, and that share could be ascertained at any given moment, but that does not make him an individual owner of anything. The right of any member consisted simply in a general right to have the property managed in such a manner as to enable himself and his family to be suitably maintained out of it. As the Privy Council points out: "According to the true notion of a joint undivided Hindu family no member of that family, while it remains joint, can predicate of the joint undivided property that he, that particular member, has a certain definite share. No individual member of an undivided family could go to the place of the receipt of rent and claim to take from collector or receiver of the rent a certain definite share. The proceeds of the undivided property must be brought, accord-

ing to the theory of an undivided family, to the common chest or purse, and then dealt with according to the modes of enjoyment by the members of the undivided family." Thus for proprietary purposes the members of the joint family exist as a whole somewhat in the form of a corporation. A necessary consequence of the corporate character of the family holding is that, wherever any transaction affects that property, the members must be privy to it and whatever is done must be done for the benefit of all and not for any single member. The affairs of the joint family, consisting as it does of *pardanashin* ladies and infants, cannot be managed by all the members of it, nor are they managed by all the adult male members, but by a single member who becomes the head of the family by reason of his seniority or superior rank and is called the *Karta*. He exercises the right of management as the representative of the family and administers the properties for the purposes of the family as its accredited agent. In his capacity as manager, all his acts and disbursements to be of validity must be for the general good. Under such a system the family is, to quote the language of Sir Henry Maine, "a corporation and its head was its representative, or we might almost say its public officer," or, we may add, its "managing director." "He enjoyed rights and stood under duties, but the rights and duties were in the contemplation of his fellow-citizens and in the eye of the law quite as much those of the collective body as his own."¹ A joint family is, therefore, like a corporation: individual rights are all merged in the family or the corporate body. Then, again, the family groups are, like corporations, perpetual and inextinguishable. The family as a family never dies; its membership from time to time only changes and the death of individual members makes no difference to the collective existence of the aggregate body, nor does it affect in any way its legal incidents, its faculties or liabilities. There is perpetual succession and no inheritance in the family. Succession by survivorship is the rule with regard to joint families under the

¹ *Ancient Law*, 50th Ed., 184.

Mitakshara ; here the property belongs to the family the members of which constantly change as successive births and deaths occur. Thus the joint Hindu Family governed by the *Mitakshara* is, to use the very apt expression of Sir Henry Maine, "a corporation of blood relatives."¹ The conception of family ownership which prevails in one part of Lower Bengal, under which each member of the family is the owner of his share, is generally admitted to be a modification of the more prevalent form which is described above.²

Modern Law and the Joint Family.—But the joint family, as described above, is losing its corporate character as result of the inroads of the idea of individual proprietary right and the introduction of the right of alienation. The *Mitakshara* theory of the tenure of joint property is that the coparcener has no right to an ascertained share, but has an undefined interest in the whole, varying as regards the amount of the share to which he will be entitled on partition, and liable to be defeated altogether at his death before partition by his coparcener's rights of survivorship ; consequently his power to alienate is restricted. But our courts of justice, imbued with the spirit of individual proprietary right and of free alienation of properties, could not tolerate the strict anti-alienation rule of the *Mitakshara*, and, without departing from the letter of the law, has departed from its spirit by indirectly upholding the alienation of his undivided coparcenary interest, that is, the share to which he would be entitled on partition as a member of the family. But the extent to which this is done is different in the different provinces. The occasion that led our courts to make their first inroads on the anti-alienation law of the *Mitakshara* was the enforcing of the debts due by the father of a *Mitakshara* joint family. In doing so they invoked the aid of the old well-established rule of Hindu law, that it was a pious duty on the part of the son to discharge his father's debts, unless

¹ Maine's *Ancient Law*, 50th Ed., 182.

² Maine's *Early History of Institutions*, 105. No authority need be cited for the description of the joint family given above, as it is a commonplace of the Hindu law.

they were of immoral character ; and also applied the equitable principle of English law that " equity looks on that as done which ought to have been done." " The father, no doubt,"—they argued—" is not capable of abdicating his own individual share in the joint family property. But he can demand partition of it at any time. When a stranger comes to enforce a deed or bill of sale or mortgage from the father alone, what the court does is that at the same time that it declares the alienation void, it compels the father to ask for a partition and declares a lien upon his divided share for such a sum of money as were advanced, or paid as price, by the mortgagee or purchaser."¹ This was in fact nothing more or less than the adoption of the equitable maxim referred to above, whereby compulsory judicial partition is brought about not at the instance of a co-sharer, but by the court with a view to protect the interest of a third party who has advanced money on the security of the joint property. The purchaser or creditor therefore is entitled to enforce his lien on the joint estate in execution of the decree obtained by him, and the purchaser at such execution stands in the shoes of the judgment debtor (the father) and acquires the right as against the other co-sharers to compel a partition which he might have had, if so he minded, before alienating his share.² It would be a natural transition to extend this principle to all coparceners, so far as to allow a creditor to seize the interest of any one in the joint property as a satisfaction of his separate debt. And it may now be taken as settled law that, under a decree of court against any individual coparcener for his separate debt, a creditor may during the lifetime of the debtor seize and sell his undivided interest in the family property.³ Thus the seizable character of a coparcenary interest was established. The same doctrine was carried to extremes when the share of the son in the ancestral property was allowed to be seized and sold in execution of a decree obtained by a creditor against the father for his " antecedent lawful debt." That

¹ See Krisna Kamal Bhattacharyya's *Tagore Law Lectures*, 550-51.

² Phear, J., in *Mahabeer v. Ramyad*, 12 B. L. R. 90—20 W. R. 192.

³ *Deendyal v. Jugdeep*—3 Cal. 198 P.C.

it was a pious duty of the son as such to pay off the father's debts was a rule developed by the ancient *Sastras*, but it was regarded as a moral duty only. Our courts of justice, however, have converted the future pious duty of the sons into a present legal liability annexed to both the father's and the son's interests in the ancestral property, if the father's debts were not contracted for illegal and immoral purposes.¹

The same considerations that led the courts to declare the compulsory saleable character of the coparcener's undivided share in the joint family property also led them in some of the provinces to recognise, though with certain restrictions, his power voluntarily to transform the same. In Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the anti-alienation doctrine of the *Mitakshara* is strictly followed so far as voluntary alienation by a coparcener of his undivided interest is concerned.² In Madras and Bombay the earlier decisions were adverse to the coparcener's right of alienating his undivided share.³ But subsequently a change took place and it must be regarded as the settled law of those provinces that one of several coparceners in a Hindu family may, before partition, and without the assent of his coparceners, sell, mortgage, or otherwise alienate for a valuable consideration his share in the undivided family estate, movable and immovable.⁴ But there are two limitations to the rule thus laid down in Madras and Bombay in opposition to that which obtains in Bengal and U.P., viz., that both in Madras and Bombay a coparcener may not alienate his undivided share by will or gift. A purchaser for value is entitled, while a volunteer is not, as in his case no equities arise. The net result has been that in some provinces at least the members of the joint family have become co-owners, while in other provinces, they have the rights of co-ownership in so far at least as the rights of third parties are concerned. But the co-ownership of several persons is quite distinct from the

¹ Sastri's *Hindu Law*, 4th Ed., 224.

² *Virasuami v. Ayyasvami*, I.M.H.C. 471; *Vasudev v. Venkatesh*, 10 B. H. C. 139 Fd. in F.B., Ibid. 162.

³ *Vitlax v. Yamenamma*, 8 M.H.C. 6.

⁴ *Viranda-Vandas v. Yamunabai*, 12 B.H.C., 229.

ownership of a corporation. For if a property is owned by a corporation none of its members have any right over or interest in it whatsoever. But in co-ownership the individuals themselves are the owners, only the rights of each are necessarily somewhat limited by the rights of his fellows. Even under the system of *Jimutavahana*, which was in the pre-British rule the ruling authority in Bengal, in the joint property (i.e., ancestral), though the rights of the father and the sons were not equal, yet parcenership was the same, i.e., equal. Therefore, according to the strict theory of the *Dayabhaga*, the father was not entitled to alienate or make unequal distribution thereof to the sons. But the father alone was entitled to alienate it for family-necessity, and in such a case the consent of his sons was not required. The son's right to it accrued only after the father's death. Therefore he could not enforce its partition during the father's lifetime.

Our courts of law, thoroughly misconceiving the principles laid down in *Jimutavahana*, have deprived the son of the right of equal coparcenership with the father and invested the father with absolute ownership, in respect of the joint family property.

Thus the joint family is losing one of the most important characteristics of a corporation and is now a victim to the forces of individualism which are encouraged by the courts of law and are now working havoc in the communal organisation of society.

Family Co-operation in Rural Industry.—The economic co-operation of the joint family is still, however, a characteristic feature of our economic life. The members of the family help agricultural work directly or indirectly. The housewife gets up at the dawn of day and prepares the *atā*, flour, for the day's consumption at the hand-mill (*chakki*). Then she gets out the scones and buttermilk left over from last night's supper for her husband to breakfast on before he goes out to his work. Perhaps she has to milk the cows and buffaloes ; at all events she must warm the milk of the morning, and churn the milk of the previous day. She has to fetch water from the village well and sweep

her house and courtyard, cook her husband's dinner and take it out to him in the field, take a turn at the spinning wheel (*charki*) or do some embroidery work, and in the evening prepare the family supper, and heat the evening's milk. In many parts of the country the women work in the fields along with their husbands and children, helping them to sow and reap, and indeed in everything except holding the plough. The sharing of responsibility and of work is the foundation for mutual respect, devotion and sacrifice. Again, there is certainly a steadying effect on expenditure and mode of enjoyment when family income is the result of family labour. The family is, indeed, the best school of discipline for solving the problems of living.

But the educational opportunities which the economic problem of the family affords do not stop here. The family provides an easy and natural training-ground for its members. In the modern system of industry the father often has no trade, no sense of being anything but a cog in the industrial machine. The family is now a genuine industrial unit only in agricultural countries where women and children have no dominating part in production as well as in consumption. The sons, too, often stay on the farm until they are ready to marry, and even continue to work with their father after that, and to inherit the farm on his death. This state of affairs, however, is by no means universal, and in the United States the abandoned farms of New England now taken over by Italian and Slav immigrants show the extent to which opportunities that industrial development offers have destroyed this family tradition.¹

The collaboration of the members of the family in the work of its head is, however, best seen in the cottage of an artisan like the potter or the shoemaker. Indeed, all artisans can do their work cheaply and with more ease because of this element of co-operation and the moral support it gives. Work in the midst of the family is encouraging and can never be monotonous. The artisan's wife always prepares the raw materials and puts everything in

¹ *Social Work with Families*, p. 19.

proper order, and in some cases assists in elaborate or decorative work (1).

Woman as Queen of the Home.—In the peasant's homestead the housewife is the queen of the garden, of the courtyard, or of the apiary. Above all she is the mistress of the household and the mother of children. This is in striking contrast with the industrial West, where the household duties are relegated to a secondary place because they bring no wages, and, if not neglected, are performed in a perfunctory manner which robs the service of all value and grace. The home in the West is being narrowed into a place of hurried meals and sleep, and is losing its elevating and sweetening character (2). India, true to the ideals of the past, is decisive in her judgment that the woman is essentially the queen of the household and the mother of the race. The instincts of motherhood developed in the home will deepen and expand and reconstruct society on a eupsychic basis. In India it is often that home-work becomes drudgery and does not rise to the height of a noble idealism. Women are the natural guardians of home life, of the interests of social purity, and domestic hygiene, and the rights of children. Women are the natural guardians of the sick, the incapables and the unfortunates. Women are also the natural guardians of the general regulation of the relations between the sexes in society which will weed out all forms of corruption, uncleanness, immorality, brutality and bestiality represented by the forces of drink and debauchery. Women, by their pacific influence, will eliminate the nomadic and the caravan spirit, piracy and vagabondage—in one word, destroy the spell of monetarism and militarism in social life. They stand for the softening of war and violence among nations, and of conflict and strife among industrial classes. Women as social legislators as well as teachers, as priestesses of humanity, as tenders of the sick and the aged, as guardians of social and individual purity, will serve society as they will continue to serve the home. The home will not cease to be the sphere of their work, homely duties will not be neglected, but will receive greater attention and more eager solicitude than at present ; at the same time the home will

expand, till the women sweeten and purify the whole of society as they do their homes. The methods of their work will be consistent with the nature and character of the sex, and with their duties to the home. Where women have to live unattached and to earn their own livelihood—as in every society and every industrial stage there will be many—their scheme of life and work will necessarily be different. It is also true that women of special talents may find unrestricted scope for work and the unarrested realisation of their ideals in departments of life and activity hitherto monopolised by the other sex. In the rearrangement of society and the redistribution of work between the sexes, which was in actual and increasing process during the war in Europe, and is yet far from being completed, the environmental conditions of work for both men and women should be suited to their physiological, social and psychic endowment, and the special rights and responsibilities arising therefrom.

Efficiency must be sacrificed for Personality.— In all attempts at eupsychic and social reconstruction of the future, society must remember that it has to make certain sacrifices of its present efficiency for the utmost development of the natural gifts and equipment of man as well as woman, in fact for the development of personality of individuals of either sex composing society. Even greater than the so-called incontestable right of motherhood is the woman's right to the development of her personality, in fact the former flows from the latter. Similarly, the duty of bearing arms emanates from man's natural capacity and special responsibility, though the state is bound to tolerate and respect the personality of its members in their activities to realise their own schemes of values and ends as free self-determining agents. In the rearrangement of social and individual functions and duties, this will be the ultimate standard, the development of the complex and composite personality of each member of society. The social value will be raised from the end in the biological to the ideal in the etho-sociological plane of existence. Women, no longer exclusively occupied with child-bearing and agricultural

and industrial labour like their primitive sisters, will gradually find new and more varied activities for the realisation of their complex personality ; while men, no longer red in tooth and claw, giving up their arms and weapons, will find ample leisure and scope for the harmonious development of their social and ethical life, unarrested by the constant pressure of military responsibilities that pre-occupy them in modern civilisation.

CHAPTER III.

ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES.

Rights in the West ; Duties in the East.—In the West man is regarded as being endowed with certain inalienable birthrights. In the Declaration of Independence of the U.S. we read : “ We hold these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are left liberty and the pursuit of happiness ; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.” But it was in the eighteenth century that the doctrine was enunciated with great elaboration and moulded the politics of the great nations. Popularly identified with the revolutionary political writers of the eighteenth century and particularly with Rousseau, the theory of natural rights is as old as the political thought of the West. The specific natural rights most commonly claimed are the right of life, of liberty, of toleration, of public meeting and association, of contract, of resistance to oppression, of equality, of property, of pursuing and obtaining happiness. In India men are said to be born not with rights, but with certain inalienable duties. Men are said to inherit by birth a burden of three kinds of debt and five kinds of care or responsibility. The repayment of these debts implies the full satisfaction of duty, duty to family, duty to community, duty to mankind, duty to God, and duty to himself. The doctrine of rights has proved dangerous to peace and stability, and is at best barren. If neither the state nor society defines the sphere of individual liberty and contracts its boundaries, the result will be anarchy. The experience of the French

Revolution, where the theory of natural rights was carried into practice, shows the inevitableness of the result. In modern days the doctrine of rights in other forms and with other names has in its excesses tended to disintegrate society into atoms. Syndicalism, Bolshevism and Industrial Unionism—each represents the element of danger and disruption in attention to rights without corresponding emphasis on duties. In the East, where the danger of state interference was not felt on account of the freedom enjoyed by the citizens in the more or less autonomous petty republics, the doctrine of obligations received a greater emphasis than the theory of natural liberty. The idea of duties is always in the foreground. Duty is the bond of the communal scheme. Individuals through their obedience to the different intermediary communal groups and bodies rise from individualistic subjectivism to self-realisation. It is not that communalism does not recognise rights of individuals. Communalism emphasises man's supreme right to the development of his personality. That is the primary right of all. All other rights are secondary and tertiary. They flow from, and owe existence to, the former. Communalism subordinates these latter to the former primary right and emphasises attention to duties and obligations, rather than to rights and powers generally.

Competitive and Communal Economic Schemes Contrasted.—The elements of contrast between the two schemes of economic rights and obligations, competitive-industrial and communal, are shown below ; communalism, representing as it does a higher stage of social integration, does not annul or set itself over against the rights and concepts of the previous stage of economic history, but subsumes and fulfils them by incorporation into a new and richer synthesis in which the complementary rights implied in every right of the old order are brought out and emphasised in the social ordering. Thus in the solution of industrial conflict the right of the employers to combine and of the labourers to bargain collectively and strike will be subordinated as a merely secondary method or process to the ethical standard by which an awakened sense of a corporate

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or communal personality in which the bargaining parties are both embraced and comprehended should harmonise and co-ordinate their separate group interests and ends. We shall accordingly place over against each right of the old order the nascent complementary right in the communal *régime*, reducing the former to the character of a mere element or process in the working of the new order.

✓ COMPETITIVE-INDUSTRIALISM.

The right to work and the right to the fruit thereof.
The right to resist.
The right to move freely.

The right to choose one's occupation freely.
The right of contract.

The right of collective bargaining.

The right to strike.

The right of free consumption.

COMMUNALISM.

The right to leisure as complementary to the right to work.

The right to co-operate.

The right to conserve the corporate life as a corrective.

The right to do good and standard work.

The right to the benefits of one's own status.

The right to decision by an ethical standard.

The right to conciliation and harmonisation of ends and values as complementary and final to the right to strike.

The right to wholesome enjoyment.

The Communalistic Code.—Communalism formulates an elaborate code of socio-economic duties binding on the individual. Some of the elements of this code are obvious :

1. Respect for the infinite worth of each person.
2. Maintenance of the stability of family as the institution transmitting to posterity through the child the fruits of civilisation.
3. Maintenance of a high standard of personal efficiency.
4. Ethical standards instead of contract, regulating economic relationships. The emphasis of primary instincts and vital needs, self-control and moral obligation in social intercourse instead of greed and ambition antagonistic to vital efficiency and social well-being.
5. Obedience to the corporation or guild, community or brotherhood, as ensuring good work, and preventing the degradation of the workman's labour and life. Not competition but service is the dominant economic motive. Service to humanity through the intermediate forms of

association, family, guild or union, community and nation.
 Recognition of the practical principles :

- (a) That the robust virtue of self-control and an unswerving allegiance to duty in each of these stages are essential for the development and perpetuation of that rational personality which society and humanity are striving after.
 - (b) That the vague and vast ideals of humanity cannot be attained unless there are midway some intermediate social groups. The individuals as mere units cannot move the world. The thing is impossible excepting to a handful of idealists. The masses must have some personal and tangible group interests to work on which can evoke prompt emotional reactions. But each group must represent the totality of individual interests and life values ; thus there will be no conflict, but harmonisation of group with social interests, and of individual with group interests. The common distributive life of the individual-in-humanity and of humanity-in-the-individual.
6. Each one should labour according to his capacity and be rewarded according to an ethical standard for the services rendered.
 7. The decrease of luxury and exercise of self-restraint.
 8. Property is a true and genuine trust held for the benefit of the community. The responsibilities of wealth and leisure.
 9. The increased valuation of future welfare.
 10. The sacredness of communal ties and trusts.
 11. Cleanliness in body and mind.
 12. To love God in individual life as Man in all that is possible in man or to man, the enemy of selfishness and wrong and the friend of the poor, the needy and the vicious, the power of righteousness and love. To love God in social life as Society drawing unto Himself all the natural bonds that keep men together in diverse social groups and personal relationships and demanding from the individual life-giving service of loving humility in the interests of self-realisation.

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All these elements have a common source and a common measure. They show the trend of the communal economic ideal, and put it in contrast with the ideal of economic progress in competitive industrialism.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL VIEW OF INDUSTRY.

Industrial Efficiency Over-Emphasised.—The industrial organisation is established primarily to secure the individual against want. But the form of the industry, the methods of production and the system of labour depend upon the character of individuals and of the particular society. Every society moulds the system of production in a way that is necessary for what it conceives to be the true culture. In the latter-day industrialism exaggerated emphasis is laid on efficiency in production. That is a false ideal of efficiency which in devising methods of production would look only to so many millions of horse-power and so many million tons of commodities, irrespectively of the health and well-being of individuals and society. In the West large-scale production has been the result of the factory system with its use of machinery, its mass production and its standardisation. The effects of the concentration of production, the increase in the size of factories, or their combination with other units of more or less centralised management, have been an enormous disparity of wealth, the conflict of classes and only a slow increase in the well-being of the great masses of the people. Economics has dealt largely with the methods of achieving industrial efficiency. Economics will now have to deal with the other features of industrial methods and investigate what conditions will prevent the concentration of wealth and the social conflict, and lead to a wider diffusion of wealth and well-being in society. Economics has dealt largely with the acquisition of wealth. Economics will now deal with the other features of wealth and investigate what conditions will diminish not only poverty but

also crime, secure wealth as well as cleanliness of body and mind, through teaching the power of moral forces in the adjustment of industrial forces.

Human and Social Economic Ideals of the East.—

The East does not believe in concentration in any field, in politics, in industry, or in social life. The East believes in the diffusion of wealth, the diffusion of population, the diffusion of production and the individuality of production. She holds to a high ideal of economic democracy. The communal ideal is to give opportunity to every citizen to participate in the spiritual as well as the material benefits of civilisation. To accomplish this she aims to purify competition and elevate it to a high level. She would allow private property but destroy its aggressive, anti-social character. She would not allow private property in the public utilities, the complex tools of production which are beyond individual use. She would establish a code of economic duties for an effective social control of industry carried on in her cottages, fields and workshops. Everywhere she would co-ordinate private enterprise with social good. She would introduce her characteristic group-organisation into the management of large-scale industry, organise it on the lines of her communal self-government, and make every worker a self-governing servant not of a socialistic state but of a democratic federation of self-directed workshops and guilds. She would thus eliminate the sordid business of making profits and avoid the division of industry into classes. Even when industrial conditions reach a stage where individual business enterprise is an incentive to economic progress the East would emphasise the communal character of her industry and economic life, and aim at giving the ordinary worker means of expression and chance of responsibility in communal workshops—workshops not owned by individual entrepreneurs, but owned and controlled by the villages. In communal production, the worker is conscious of his creation, without which consciousness work is at best a drudgery, and degrading to intellect and character; there cannot be any great disparity of wealth, the tools of production not being so

elaborate and complex as to become inaccessible to individual producers, nor can there be so many intermediaries and middlemen whose parasitism might warp the people from the true lines of character development ; finally, industrial democracy will begin at the bottom in the self-governed workshops and other places of work.

The labourer will have control over the management ; this is a great factor in elevating manhood. Above all, the East believes in the human and social values of agriculture and cottage production ; here population is not huddled together in an unclean environment ; and nature and the home exercise a kindling and restraining influence.

Agriculture and Factory Industry Compared.—It is well for us to remind ourselves at this stage of the comparative merits of agriculture and factory industry, the more so because economics would consider industry chiefly with regard to mechanical efficiency in production, and make light of the influence of the industrial organisation on the family and society, on feelings and morals, and on art and enjoyment.

Agriculture is unfavourable to an excessive agglomeration of population in an unhealthy environment. The limits to large-scale cultivation are easily reached. It is not incompatible, however, with a great density of population. The factory system and the modern system of industry and commerce are favourable to a large agglomeration of population. For there are practically no limits to large-scale production in various lines of industry. In New York, e.g., the over-crowding has been the greatest and most serious in the world. It is estimated that if the remainder of New York were peopled as densely as the lower East side of Manhattan, it would contain the whole population of the U.S., continental and insular, plus almost the whole population of Canada. The concentration of industry and trade which leads to the concentration of population means a larger number of middlemen and intermediaries, and greater disparity of wealth between the producers and the rest of the community. This implies social unstability and unrest, apart from the evils of the crowded slums and tenement-

houses, squalid quarters occupied by the poor and wretched. There is not a single large manufacturing city in the West without its slums and tenements where manhood is poisoned at its very source. It is these which are the supreme social causes of prostitution and vice. When boys and girls have no attractive home and no healthy playground they must be on the streets. There bad company captures more girls and boys than in any other way.

Agriculture is favourable to a diffusion of population. Agriculture checks disparity of wealth because it does not need so many intermediaries between the producer and the consumer. It is not the communal ideal to discountenance the inequalities of wealth due to fundamental differences in powers of body and mind, which may themselves lead to greater social and economic opportunities. Communalism would eliminate monopolies and the individual appropriation of unearned profits by diverting the latter to social uses; and, on the other hand, by ethical regulation it would maintain a just standard, so that the share received in the distributive process may not fall below the level of individual efficiency and family well-being. Between the upper and the lower limits, there may be a stratification of wealth corresponding to the natural stratification of vitality, gifts and aptitudes. It is characteristic to note that through a painful industrial process the West is now coming to realise the necessity of limiting wealth in both these directions by the regulation of monopolies, on the one hand, and the substitution of ethical for naturalistic competition on the other. The modern cry of "back to the land" in the West has also its basis in the appreciation of the justice in distribution and of the increase in vital values with which agriculture is associated. Indeed agriculture is not only a preventive of social unrest, but it also ensures a clean and healthy life in the environment best for psychical development. In all large towns there has been seen a physical deterioration of the population. The townsmen in the West are not merely physically deteriorating but also becoming joyless, morbid and sterile. Agriculture may make accessible the joy of a direct and personal creation

in participation with nature. As such its moral value may be greater than the work of a factory-hand who makes one-thousandth part of a pin in social conditions that make degradation easy. Agriculture tends to uplift the home; by maintaining the economic usefulness of the family group, it protects the integrity of the family. Finally, agriculture disciplines man in mutual devotion and sacrifice and in an increased estimate of future good, which are the roots of economic and moral progress. Concentrating its thought always on the future and depending on nature, agriculture would ally itself with religion, which supports a strong, deep and energising personality in striking contrast with the shallow, weak and vacillating nature of a factory-hand, driven, as wisps of straw, by cares and worries, and the overwhelming forces of the industrial system which is inexplicable to him.

Now turn to the other side of the shield with reference to factory life in its effects on the life and morals of our people. In some of our mill towns the economic and social conditions are such that they have threatened the very foundations of the social and moral life of our people. The advantages of domesticity cultivated by an age-long ethical and religious discipline in a communal organisation of agriculture and social life are destroyed in the slum environment. The group of family and caste ties which bind people in a communal system in a network of social duties and obligations are suddenly snapped asunder. The individual, divorced from the traditional family and social life and morality, becomes a prey to the unchecked operation of passions and desires let loose in an artificial environment so thoroughly removed from the life in which the old morality had its basis.

The above are but phases of the substitution of civilisations that is unfortunately proceeding throughout the East. In the West latter-day industrialism has made light of the healthy and instinctive sympathies of the race and tended to loosen social ties. This has been the product of a mechanical age of iron and steel, coal and cotton, dominated by a gospel of competition and a plutonic cult, which have

sought wealth more than life, and mechanical efficiency more than vital well-being. This crude phase of industrialism which must be replaced in the West by finer phases is, however, hailed in the East as "modern" and "progressive." It is also unfortunate that modern economic forces in the East are tending towards the ruthless disintegration of agriculture and of the indigenous economic organisation characterised by such features as cottage production, the communal control of production, distribution and consumption, the attachment of labour to the soil and the home, and the consequent healthy and diffused distribution of wealth and of population. This, however, represents a necessary stage in the evolution of communalism from a natural and instinctive basis to a complex and effective organisation in adaptation to the more complex forms of economic and social life. The social and economic evils of the present industrial order which we all lament are the outcome of certain unchecked forces, which in their legitimate scope and ethical readjustment or revaluation will find a proper place in the coming economic order in subordination to the permanent and elemental values of life that communalism represents.

Effects of Industrial Conditions on Consumption.—

We have already pointed out how industrial conditions react on family and the structure of social groups as well as on general life and well-being. They react on consumption also, and here the influence is direct in its operation. Factory-hands everywhere are seen to spend lavishly on holidays. The holiday spirit, with its temporary abandonment of the rules of ethics and morality, is a reaction against the soul-killing pressure of routine industrialism, on a release from which they are often known to spend on drink all that they earn in the week. The environment of the factory depresses the spirits and smothers all aspirations; and it is to forget the inevitable loss of what is due to humanity that men drink and become brutes. In the field and the workshop the Indian labourer is in a healthy and wholesome environment. The system of production does not make men brutes; so in consumption they preserve a high stand-

ard. Nothing has struck me more as the evil of modern industrialism than the difference of the modes of expenditure between a peasant in the field and a labourer in one of the jute mills. To show the points of contrast I am placing the family budget of a peasant and of a factory worker side by side.

ORDINARY EXPENDITURE OF A RYOT PER MONTH

1. Clothing for 5 members of a family	Rs. 2 8 0
2. Food for 5 members of a family	" 7 12 0
3. Rent	" 1 10 0
4. Cost of day labourers in kind and money	" 2 8 0
5. Wages of washermen, barber, carpenters, etc., in kind and money	" 0 2 6
6. Purchase of baskets for paddy dung	" 0 2 0
7. Feed of one pair of bullocks	" 1 0 0
8. Hire of bullocks for agricultural operations	" 1 0 0
	Rs. 16 10 6

ORDINARY EXPENSES OF A FACTORY-HAND

3 members.	Per week.
Rice, 15 seers	Rs. 1 4 0
Ata, 2½ seers	" 0 6 6
Dal, 3 seers	" 0 10 0
Spices	" 0 2 0
Vegetables	" 0 6 0
Fuel	" 1 0 0
Rent	" 1 2 0
Clothes	" 1 12 0
Drink	" 0 10 0
Cigarettes, etc.	" 0 4 0
	Rs. 7 8 6

During 3 months they would wear—

2 cloths	Rs. 2 0 0	The cloths are shorter, called <i>loongees</i>
Sister's cloth	" 2 8 0	
Sister's <i>koorta</i>	" 0 7 0	
Banyans	" 1 4 0	

Drinking, vice and the new sedative pleasure of smoking are the inevitable accompaniments of the industrial system. They are irrational and extravagant because they sate appetite and deaden pain. They represent an unintelligent protest of the organism which is forced to adapt itself to bad air, poor light, fixed position and routine work in the denatured city, without awakening vital energies.

In the country the rich ozone and the tang of winds kindle healthy appetites and desires, and the communal life gives

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opportunity for rational amusements and recreations, sports and social festivals.

Business Interests versus the Community.—Industrial conditions react on modes of expenditure in another more direct way. The trader and the middleman exercise in the West an excessive control over the producer and distort the natural modes of expenditure. It is well-known that such evils as war, gambling, overcrowding and prostitution are due to the large business interests involved in them. It is estimated that in New York there are 292 hotels interested in prostitution, with 10,000 rooms and receipts of not less than \$8,000,000 annually, probably \$10,000,000. The number of good-sized houses of prostitution is put at 350 with more than 4,000 women. The annual gross profits are probably over \$10,000,000. They secure profits not only from their shares in the women's wages, but also from excessive prices for liquor, clothing and other necessities of life. Another illustration how the art of consumption is distorted on account of the machination of traders is given by the liquor traffic. In Great Britain the breweries own or control the great majority of the public-houses. They have a distinct policy. If there are not as many public-houses as there can be, supply them.

The only remedy is the control of production by consumers. That alone can regulate private action and prevent unscrupulous traders from encouraging injurious consumption. In communalism the control of industry by the community would prevent the degradation of labour in socially dangerous trades or the self-seeking of unscrupulous traders. This is also the ideal of the consumers' leagues which are being established in the West. The objects are the same as are set before the communal village system :

(1) The interests of the community demand that all workers shall receive fair living wages and that goods shall be produced under favourable environmental conditions.

(2) The responsibility for some of the worst evils from which producers suffer rests with the consumers who seek the cheapest market, regardless how cheapness is brought about.

(3) The duty of consumers is to find out under what conditions the articles they purchase are produced and distributed, and to insist that these conditions shall be wholesome and consistent with a self-respecting existence on the part of the workers.

In the West the state has often interfered to protect consumers on other considerations of social well-being ; but the best protection can be afforded only by an organisation of the consumers themselves for protection and selection of the higher forms of material and intellectual consumption.

In the West the necessity, injustice and irregularity of economic distribution also react upon consumption. The contrast between ostentatious waste and immoral leisure, between soul-killing poverty and holiday abandon, tends to react injuriously upon education, morals and æsthetics. The futile extravagance of the rich and the conspicuous poverty of the poor would warp individual and social judgment and feeling, and divert social and individual activities from their natural and rational lines of development.

In communalism the social control of industry and regulation of private property which secures every man the material basis of livelihood, and communalises the surplus of production, would relieve the crushing pressure of the economic problem, and at the same time substitute habits of social service, intellectual and spiritual discipline for the Western habits of extravagance and valueless leisure among the leisured classes.

In the West, on account of the characteristically faulty institutions of property and industry, economics has largely influenced history. Religion, politics and art activities have suffered owing to the acuteness of the economic problem. Thus there can be an economic interpretation of history. In the East the economic problem has not been all-engrossing. Here economic conditions and forces have not been the chief cause of social development. Religion and the disinterested pursuits of truth and philosophy, have more or less governed social evolution in the East. Economics would neither mould nor interpret Eastern history, because the Eastern

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social system has sought to cultivate thoughts and feelings drawn not from the minds of a small industrial class, but from every field of human life along every channel of individual and social activity.

And the essential value of the communalism of the East is that it raises the physical and moral efficiency of the individual, and sets free and improves the intellectual and spiritual energies which in the West are at present thwarted by and subordinated to a bare industrialism.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND COMMUNALISM.

Private Exploitation or State Regulation?—In the West, the growth of centralised industry is the most characteristic feature of economic life. The concentration of production is seen in nearly all lines of industry. Large capital and specialised machinery are to-day wielding a power in the West unknown before. But, so long as the scale of production is growing and the tools of production becoming more complex, there will be classes of people who earn some special privileges, and peculiar advantages, while there will be other classes who, although they have contributed to create the complex tools and to establish and condition the large-scale production, will be placed at a disadvantage. Western industry leaves no other alternative. Either there will be exploitation by those who acquire industrial control, or state regulation and management of industry in the interests of the masses. The logic is somewhat as follows : “ So long as the tools of production are so complex that it takes thousands of men to use them, private ownership of those tools gives a special privilege to the owners as opposed to those who must use them and cannot own them.” This special privilege should not be tolerated. The socialist says it should be abolished by making the ownership of the collectively-used tools also collective.

Communalism in Indian Villages.—In India it is characteristic that with regard to lands about the village and bushlands near the hills for pasturage and for fuel ; drinking or irrigation wells ; cattle-yards and threshing floors ; tanks and irrigation channels, etc., where private

ownership might confer a special privilege against the rest of the community, their use has never been allowed to be exclusive. But the collective use and collective ownership of irrigation channels are most significant.

Prof. Elwood Mead points out in his *Irrigation Institutions* that the co-ordination of individual rights and collective ownership is perforce established in this branch of economic activity. Irrigated agriculture requires the most minute public regulation of supply of water to render property secure and to protect mutual rights, to prevent fraud and a tyrannical use of power, and to secure industrial liberty in any true sense. Irrigation compels men to give up an anti-social individualism, or suffer in consequence ; as a condition of general prosperity it forces men to enter into closer economic relations with other men, and as a condition of liberty it requires a firm and wise public regulation of these relations. In the Indian village communities there are minute communal regulations of the supply of water to protect the mutual rights of the cultivators. To prevent a tyrannical use of property, India has sought to establish a kind of communal ownership of tanks and the distributory channels of irrigation—the most important instruments of agricultural production. In the case, for instance, of the village wells in some districts of the Panjab the shares are often very elaborately sub-divided, and common rights emphasised. Each sharer is entitled to a *vari* or portion of a *vari*, i.e., the right to work the well for a day and night (8 *prahars* or watches) in the cold weather, and for a day or a night (4 *prahars*) in the hot weather ; and the succession of the *varis* is determined by lot. The movable gear (rope and bucket) is the property of the sharer ; and repairs to the well have to be executed at the joint cost. There are minute regulations to protect mutual rights. The large village ponds are common property. All the villagers have the right to take water from the village pond for household purposes, to water their cattle and to take clay to repair their houses, and to make bricks and earthen vessels ; and all are bound to join in deepening it from time to time, as we have already described.

The village hedges or ditches, which are a great protection against cattle-theft, are also common property. They are kept in good condition by all the adult males of the villages, doing the necessary repairs as need arises. The rights in the common pasture grounds, or in the common lands, when they are still left undisturbed by the revenue system and administration, are strictly guarded against individual encroachments.

Communalism Applied to Modern Conditions.—

The same principle of co-partnership in the complex tools of production, the most remarkable characteristic of our economic life, might be extended to the specialised machinery, workshops and powerhouses of modern scientific industry when the latter will be introduced into our village communities. Machinery and complex instruments of production, the use of which is beyond the access of individuals, will be owned and operated in our villages on social principles, rather than the principles of private property. Shares will be distributed in the same way as those of a co-operative irrigation establishment ; the wear and tear will be recouped by the whole body of co-proprietors or labourers interested, and the products appropriated according to the labour and service of each. The standard of life of the workers and of quality in work will be protected by the guild organisation expanded and adapted to meet the more complex economic needs and requirements of to-day, and administered in the interests of society as a whole, and not merely in the interests of producers.

Where labour cannot be standardised and a special degree of technical skill is required, as in modern scientific industry, the labourer will be remunerated with special wages, corresponding to his technical ability, over and above his share as a co-owner of the communal workshop. These special wages will be determined according to an ethical standard, which will take account of the cost of living of the labourer's family and of maintaining that special kind of labour to the degree of the required efficiency. Thus the principle of the determination of wages here will be fundamentally the same which regulates the wages of the village carpenter, blacksmith and other skilled artisans and workmen.

Indian Land System Disturbed by British Misunderstanding.—The chief targets of the socialistic attack on the present distributive system are rent, and high business profits. These are "unearned incomes" in the possession of wealthy individuals which cause a large portion of the national wealth to be consumed with little benefit to society. The Indian communal organisation is such that it absorbs rent and profits into communal income or wages. In the Indian system, though private property exists, property is not allowed to exchange freely with other forms of wealth. Land is not wholly a marketable commodity. Thus rent as a separate economic asset transferable for distribution cannot arise; the differential profits on lands above the margin of cultivation are absorbed into wages. Every villager is a landlord or *zamindar*, as he is called in the north; and, though there are tenants, both are equally alike in the eyes of customary law so far as their right of cultivating possession is concerned. Each of them can cultivate the land so long as he pays a share of the revenue allotted to him by the head man; neither of them has the right of transfer.

But British jurisprudence assumed that the absolute right to each plot of land must vest in some individual or body of individuals, subject possibly to subordinate rights of other persons, which were considered as limiting the absolute rights of the proprietors of the land. The introduction of these ideas led to endless confusion. Individuals were selected from the general body of cultivators and declared to be proprietors, which they were not. The whole body of villagers who were co-proprietors were classed as tenants or ordinary cultivators, and at the same time restrictions on the sale or transfer of land were withdrawn. The evils of rack-renting were soon manifest. Here is one of the phases of the substitution of economic systems accompanied by great economic unsettlement in all directions.

In many cases the village system withstood the attack. The men who were declared proprietors voluntarily remitted the proprietor's due to the whole body of cultivators; such tenants paid no more than the proprietors on their actual cultivation. Thus the communal organisation has survived.

The proprietors take from the tenants the customary share in kind, and, after paying the state's demand and the various cesses in cash, divide the surplus or make up the deficiency according to their respective shares in the whole village.

Eastern Voluntary Co-operation Contrasted with Western State Compulsion.—The communal system of agriculture seeks to convert rent into wages or communal income. The communal control of industry seeks to convert the extra profits of production in competitive industry into the consumers' surplus. Where industrial control and management are not divorced from ownership, industry is organised as a communal service and makes impossible either a conflict of classes or an expropriation of unearned increments by privileged individuals. The system of voluntary co-operation or self-directed industry would be much better than state socialism or land nationalisation along one line, which implies bureaucratic control and discouragement of initiative. State socialism would maintain industrial peace by coercion. Communalism would seek the same object by co-operative assent. Behind the contrasted types of economic organisation, Western and Eastern, there are two modes of action. In the Western economic organisation, decisions by the states on industrial questions are dogmatic and enforced by class feelings. In the East decisions by the communal groups would be empirically obtained, and secured with the consent of all parties concerned. Thus it is that there are so many theories and "*isms*" about industrial reconstruction in the West which can be covered by one term, "dogmatism." The soul of dogmatism is class sentiment. In the East decisions would be arrived at, not by a conflict of antagonistic groups or crushing of the minority by the majority, but by the collective consent of the whole community. And it is not class feeling or coercive authority of a particular group that would dominate, but knowledge and experience of social well-being. In the East the industrial and social groups are based more on natural, primary and vital instincts and feelings, than on artificial relationships effected by contract. It is

for this reason, as well as from the absence of external pressure from the state or from social groups not bound by natural ties, that the disruptive and anti-social forces of industrialism would be duly subordinated to the well-being of the community. Thus voluntary co-operation as a method of social organisation would be a solvent not only of economic but also of political difficulties associated with modern social unrest and unsettlement.

Knowledge based on experience of social evils has led to the important truth being realised that social effort will be minimised when evils are attacked in their sources. The industrial conditions which give rise to evils should be altered, rather than efforts spent to cure those evils. The latter will take more time and energy. The East would work at the sources. The West would patch up and tinker the results which are caused by bad conditions and which cannot be avoided unless the conditions are themselves rectified. The West has established private property in the instruments of production, but, finding that in some cases this has led to grave evils, has proceeded to regulate combinations, particularly railways and other corporations. By such control the West will prevent a large degree of concentration. In the case of certain things where private ownership confers a monopoly, ownership was given, and when the evils have become incorrigible, public ownership is now being gradually declared. The private postal system on the Continent of Europe and the private railways in America have continued till recent times only. A movement in favour of public ownership of public utilities is now clearly discernible. The system of production is such that concentration and an enormous disparity of wealth are inevitable, but the West patches up these results. The regulation of trusts and the restriction of large fortunes by taxation, by direct prohibition or by limitation of bequest, are attempts to remedy such evils. The West would believe in the beneficence of free competition, but, when competition has shown its evils, she has proceeded to correct the evils here and there. The whole range of factory legislation, the whole scheme of the poor law, the regulation of the liquor traffic, schemes

for a scientific tariff, schemes for the compulsory levying of taxes for communal purposes are all of them attempts to regulate the free play of competition. The East would never support free competition as such. She is devoted to an ethical standard by which she would direct competition and raise its level from the mere biological to a bio-sociological plane. She aspires after an elevated type of competition which would prevent the rise and cumulative growth of such evils as must be experienced in the course of a life struggle in society carried on in the mere physical plane. The West would try to put a stop to the outward symptoms of a disease. The East would work on the roots of the disease, and at her best prevent diseases altogether. A healthy and efficient body economic does not need any medicines like social legislation or a surgical operation that socialism aspires to execute. The West has her saving institutions, old age pensions and insurances, her building societies, etc., which mitigate the discomfiture suffered by the economically weak. In the East the scheme of communal industry and economic life aims at preventing these evils. The West is now gradually coming to learn that environmental improvement alone cannot cure certain evils. Universal education will not end crime, neither will the realisation of the highest hopes of the temperance and labour reformers, nor the general adoption of the Christian religion. Heredity creates certain evils, which can never be cured excepting by the improvement of stock. In the meanwhile the defective and criminal classes should be segregated in order that they may be eliminated and a better stock replace them. That has been the teaching of modern eugenics.

Breakdown of Coercive Legislation.—The West would depend upon legislation which acts as the coercive authority. The East would depend upon religion and custom which is the same as social appeal, enforced and effective. The West vainly hopes to effect the object by state control and regulation of marriages; in the East the object is attempted to be realised by the voluntary co-operation of social groups, the clan and the family, the caste and the brotherhood,

which are, indeed, the more effective levers of eugenic reconstruction.

The eugenicist's method of curing evils represents the correct attitude. Legislation is not always effective. Sometimes it does more harm than good. At best it does not remedy evils: it mitigates them. Legislation has been applied most freely as a remedial agency through the laws relating to the inspection of factories, the limitation of the hours of labour, the securing of sanitary conditions, the adoption of the principles of individual arbitration, the extension of the liability of employers for accidents to their employees. Attempt has also been made to regulate the morals of the people in various directions, through the multitude of temperance laws, laws to regulate social evils, and a whole code of legislation. Law has worked in all these directions, and yet, taking all legislation as a whole, or any feature of it as a concrete illustration, the social and economic difficulties have not been removed, and there has been no full solution of the problems sought to be solved by the fiat of sovereign authorities, and centralised organs of the state.

The Communal Method of Reform.—Depending not on legislation, but on social and moral traditions, the East would prevent industrial evils by working on the conditions under which industry is carried on. An improvement of racial stock by selection of marriages would effect more than the same effort in time and money used to cure crime and moral delinquency. Similarly, the communal organisation of industry would effect more than social efforts to mitigate the suffering caused by bad environmental conditions of industry. It is better and more effective to elevate industry to a high level than to mitigate the evils of industry at a low level. Communalism certainly upraises industry to a high level. Communalism would regulate competition according to functional and ethical needs, and contract according to the claims of the spirit and the personality. It would prevent the rise and cumulative growth of unearned increments and rents, and the consequent economic and social dangers of an inequitable distribution of wealth, by making the ownership of the complex tools of production collective. It would

establish an industrial government, not centralised in its structure but democratic and federal, which would give each rank-and-file worker a share of the power and management, and thus call out his individuality and responsibility in the home, the field, the workshop and the civic or village council. The surplus of wealth production would be returned to each labourer as a co-sharer of a communal enterprise, and a part would be communised for purposes relating to education, religion and social recreations, other than mere economic needs. Communalism uplifts and ennobles industry to a pursuit after vital and enduring values.

Western Co-operation Disregards the Producer.—

The only attempts in the West to educate and enlighten industry are seen in such movements as co-operation in the interests of producers and consumers, or schemes of profit-sharing. Both co-operation and profit-sharing attempt to distribute the fruits of labour more equitably and establish a more harmonious relation between the producers and the consumers. Co-operation is only a partial remedy for some of the bad conditions which are the inevitable accompaniment of modern industry. It is only a half measure, because the method is organised and made effective for consumers almost entirely. Co-operation recognises the combined interests of labour and capital in production, but it stultifies itself when it offers no special advantages to the producers. The co-operative wholesale society in its transactions with the producers pays the lowest of competition prices. Thus the interests of the workmen as workmen are not respected. As an attempt to replace the wages system or as a general scheme of social regeneration, productive co-operation has been attended with insignificant results in Europe and with almost complete failure in the United States.

In the communal system of industry of the East we find the community of consumers directing production. The community as representing the general body of people regulates production. But the interests of the producers are not ignored. The producers are not given low competitive wages, but a standard rate, determined according to an extra-economic standard. The co-operative society in

the West uses the weapons of competition and capitalism for its ends, regardless of the interests of the producers. The workman, unless he be a member of the co-operative store, suffers the same discomfiture as in the capitalistic system of industry. The East would strike at the roots of capitalism by communalising the instruments of production, sharing profits between labourers and the community on the basis of fair play and communising the surplus product.

Communalism as Social Co-ordination.—The co-operative society is an association which anybody is free to join or not. In the case of the village commonwealth, the occupational guild or workshop, class or brotherhood, every individual must accept the rights and obligations of associated life both as a producer and as a consumer of values. The individual must work for the guild, the class, the community and the diverse functional groups to which he belongs, and the social organisation must be such that social service and selfish service would be co-ordinated without detriment to either. The co-ordination of individualism and collectivism means the co-ordination of the vital principles of competition and social service. In each individual's service society gains as he himself also gains, as also do his family and his functional group. Communalism stands for a new self-interest of the individual who puts his family before himself, and his community before the family, because his share of what is done for him by the community is of far more value to him than what he does for himself. Communalism stands for a new co-partnership, in which the surplus of production is returned to each individual to develop his individuality and at the same time communised for religious, social and educational ends to promote well-being both for the individual and for society—a co-partnership in all the complex values of life under the impulse not of an external authority but of an internally imposed social or moral code.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FAILURE OF INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM (A GENERAL, HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE RESUME.)

Civilisation the Common Property of Humanity.—

The older view of human history has been that it has been a single line of progress. European civilisation, according to this view, represents the last term of the series of development, in which Chinese, Hindu or Arabic culture represent the earlier steps. What matters if Chinese, Hindu or Islamic culture and society are swept away from the surface of the earth if there still remains European culture, which represents the culmination of human progress! God has realised Himself only in the development of European civilisation. European society represents the fulness of the idea of the absolute—and, if that is preserved, human history has no other idea to embody.

This is the view of social evolution as expounded by Hegel in his *Philosophy of History*—this is the basis of the prevailing conviction of the superiority of Western to Eastern culture. Imperialism has found its support from this, and the white man's unregulated economic exploitation of the less organised cultures and his trade activity in the outlying parts of the world, by methods which are a compound of barbaric force and civilised fraud, have justified themselves on this ground.

It is not true that the European races embody all the ideals that civilisation implies. Civilisation is not the monopoly of a particular race. Civilisation is not racial and particularist: it is the common property of humanity open to all races in proportion to their respective aptitudes.

Civilisation implies the harmonious synthesis and incorporation of all the different types of culture that different races exhibit. In the development of world-history each race has evolved a distinct type of culture. No one type of culture can give full and permanent satisfaction, and yet it is impossible to combine in one particular race the different types together: the aims and life-values are so contradictory. Civilisation is like a parti-coloured garment which covers the nakedness and brutishness of humanity. Each of the many-coloured warp and weft threads is woven by the evolution of a particular race-consciousness. You snap one particular thread: the whole garment loses its beauty. You force and cram one set of ideals, be they European, British or German: the garment ceases to be attractive. Each colour is complementary to the rest, and its absence mars the beauty of the whole. You suppress and obliterate one type of culture, and you remove some highly interesting and attractive threads. You rend asunder the whole garment. But universal humanity must be clothed. The particular race will slowly re-evolve the type after a period of forced interference and substitution, and weave and restore the thread in the centuries to come.

The ideal of Universal Humanity is only partially embodied in a particular race. A particular race, though potentially containing the completeness of the ideal, actually embodies a few phases only. Thus there is no immutable superiority of one race to another, and again there is no immutable race-consciousness or unchanging racial type. Racial types are constantly though slowly changing in response to the environment, both physical and social. Amidst our diverse geographical, historical and social conditions, each race, civilised or backward, is evolving its particular consciousness, unfolding a phase of Universal Humanity. This conception supplies the real basis and the philosophy of the rights of all states, great and small, and the rights of all races, advanced or backward—a far-off cry from modern imperialism, and the so-called superiority of the Greek and Teutonic type to all other types of culture and society.

In Europe the Great War was no conflict as regards ideals of civilisation, in spite of what was repeatedly and loudly proclaimed to the contrary. Some said that it was a struggle between autocracy and democratic institutions. To others it was a struggle between a too exclusively male conception of civilisation and the demand of women to an increasing share in its development. The economist Sombart had said that the struggle was between the mercantile spirit and the heroic spirit; while the philosopher Bergson, on the other hand, found in the war a momentous struggle between life and matter. But the fact remains that no principles of civilisation were fought out.

Hellenism and Christianity.—In the evolution of Western civilisation as a whole there stand out more especially two distinct types of culture which have profoundly affected all the Western countries. These are represented first by Hellenism and second by Christianity. The central characteristic of Hellenism is the idea of symmetry. Everywhere it accomplishes a transformation from chaos to cosmos. From sensuous impressions, fleeting and transient, it comes to a correlated and permanent conception of the world. It binds man within the firm structure of a closed community, checks his fleeting impulses and makes him a part and parcel of the life of the whole. The ideal of cosmos in outer and in inner life helps to create a powerful and joyous existence.

But the spirit of man does not rest contented. Man doubts and fears—he cannot in the long run accept this sensuous though joyful existence as the ideal life. He demands an ethical existence. Christianity satisfied this demand. Rejecting the immediate human existence, Christianity sought to lead man to the eternal life. A tremendous revolution was accomplished. A great sensitiveness of feeling, a profound sympathy went hand in hand with a deep understanding and an intense earnestness.

But Christian idealism could not affect or purify the world. A new kingdom was created—the kingdom of infinite love and sacrifice—but that was in the region of thought. The world of action remained imperfectly affected. Christianity could secure but little hold on the social and industrial

life of the Christian peoples. Trade morality is supposed to be quite different from Christian morality, and diplomacy poles asunder from the ten commandments. Christianity, which rejected more or less the temporal life, was itself rejected by the latter, and remained predominantly narrow and abstract, and ceased to be a vital and vitalising force in political and industrial life.

The modern age is no longer satisfied with an ultra-transcendental mode of thought. It is bent upon creating a new philosophy and a new religion. Man, the master of his existence, the final culminating product of the evolutionary process, endeavours to comprehend life in all its completeness, accepting nothing on *à priori* grounds. New philosophies and new religions are already in the making.

Græco-Romano-Gothic civilisation, by a process of evolution, has tended towards the establishment of social democracy throughout Europe. The unity of political and social institutions in Europe is represented by the ideal of social democracy. This ideal implies, in the first place, that the life of the community is regulated according to the ends and ideals of the masses; and, secondly, that economic betterment is the governing end of life. Europe has preserved a characteristic unity as regards this ideal, but has shown also a characteristic disparity of means and methods for its realisation.

Greece gave democracy to Europe, but in the Greek conception, dominated by the artistic sense, economic ends and activities had a low valuation. Christianity, concentrating itself towards the Kingdom of God, was still more unfavourable to the economic ideal. Roman civilisation was at first characterised by a rigorous simplicity and by respect for the heroic virtues; but Imperial Rome, rolling in luxury and enjoyment, sank into the depths of atheism and sensuality. The Roman law, with its exaggerated emphasis on private rights, gave a wrong trend to European civilisation. Christianity and the Christian communistic ideal were entirely out of place in the sensual atmosphere. In the middle ages the monasteries helped to maintain and develop the ideal of poverty and simplicity, and for a time

economic goods were prized very low. That was the age of cathedral building, of the remarkable development of painting, sculpture and the fine arts, of the city-states, with their so many great types of art and thought, even to the culmination and synthesis of both in Dante.

Rise of the Economic Ideal.—But this was not to last for long. Arts and manufactures, commerce and banking develop, and this first in the many cities and states of Italy and thence throughout Europe. The ideal of economic betterment was already visible at the time of the Renaissance. Then followed the explorations; and the discoveries, chiefly of the precious metals, in the new hemisphere, coupled with the rise of the national economy as opposed to the cosmopolitan, gave birth to a new statecraft in Spain. In the seventeenth century its predominance was marked in the mercantile policy adopted by the state in France, and the whole of Europe was saturated with the economic ideal when Adam Smith considered economic success the end of civilised life and declared the effort towards a higher standard of living to be the motive force of all movement, even in science, art, education and religion.

The predominance of the economic ideal is above all supported by the development of an elaborate and over-technical civilisation, and a sense-born art and a utilitarian ethics each in its turn now lends its aid, and this predominant ideal, the outcome of a slow process of historic evolution, is accepted uniformly throughout Europe.

What Croce calls "economicita" would characterise the general form of the practical life of Europe, and this stands for a mode of thought entirely opposed to that represented by Christianity. The French Revolution, with its ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, aimed to establish the principle that all men are free and equal; out of the combination of this principle of equality, with the ideal of economic betterment as the end of life, arose socialism. Social democracy, the inheritance of Europe from the Revolution, guided by the economic ideal, gave birth to socialistic aims and methods. Not Christianity but the ideals of socialism and social democracy represent

the quintessence of European civilisation. In the East and among backward races, wherever European civilisation has entered upon a new domain, the religion of Jesus was at first to exercise sway over the people's imagination; but what persisted in influencing the life of the community, what revolutionised the foundations of its social structure and yet eluded the grasp of its comprehension, was social democracy, with its idea of levelling down all inequalities, political or social.

Conflict of Economic Ideals.—But there is divergence, even antithesis, as regards the methods of social democracy in Europe—a divergence and an antithesis which are themselves the products of a historic development.

Individualism and liberty are the inheritance of Europe from Athens; unity and socialism are the outcome of the ideal of order which is the inheritance of Europe from Rome. For centuries past philosophers and political theorists had been discussing the conflicting claims of individualism and socialism. From Plato and Aristotle down to Spencer and Hegel the rival claims of society and the individual were sought to be compromised. But there has been no compromise, no settlement. Now the tide of individualism, then the tide of socialism, has swelled alternately; there has been no solution of the inner conflict.

In one type of sociological thought, individual rights were looked upon as sacred and inviolable, and society as merely an aggregate of individuals. The social contract theory of Milton, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, and the theory of Spinoza, alike rest on an individualistic basis, isolating each man from his fellows and looking for an explanation of the origin of civil society to something outside of a man's essential nature. The former finds it in an arbitrary contract; the latter in sheer brute force. The utilitarian theory of Bentham similarly rests on an individualistic assumption. It separates society into its constituent atoms, and looks to the sum of the enjoyments of each separate man instead of the welfare of the whole as the end of legislation. Darwin's principle of natural selection exaggerates the isolation and independence of the competing individuals, and in

social ethics is responsible for the theory of the sins of legislators or the false antithesis suggested by the title of Herbert Spencer's tractate, *Man versus the State*. In the natural rights of the social contract school, or the inviolability of individual liberty of Mill and Herbert Spencer, in Rousseau's conception of the state as the summation of individual wills, or the utilitarian conception of law as the summation of individual satisfactions, we trace the essence of the arithmetical and mechanical theory of individualism that dominated a school of European thought for several decades. And this individualism run riot has in recent times defended anarchism as a safeguard of individual liberty and Bolshevism as a method of protecting the rights of labour. In social life this has raised the cry for woman suffrage without a due recognition of the duties of women as mothers of the race. In France the same immoral individualism is responsible for the decline of the marriage rate which has militated against the larger interests of race-preservation. Syndicalism too, which has found many adherents in France, has resolved society into constituent groups and units.

For Georges Sorel, the theorist or romanticist of Syndicalism, modern society rests on force, the force *bourgeoise*. It must be the object of the syndicalised workers to shatter the political fabric by violence. In the total ruin of institutions and of morals there remains something which is powerful, new and intact ; and it is that which constitutes, properly speaking, the soul of the revolutionary proletariat. The proletarian violence will, it is declared, restore the march of progress that is now arrested in a stagnant and decaying society. Not only the syndicalised workers in France and Italy but the Ulster unionists, the militant suffragists and the coal miners as well have exhibited an attitude that seems in a high degree dangerous to the stability and continuity of the state. That same individualism, which is disintegrating the state into groups and units, also affects art, literature and religion. Art and literature become individual-aristocratic, heedless of generally accepted standards of law and morality, and they amuse

themselves by revealing the vices and wrongs of society, with the object not of curing them, but of making society appear ridiculous in its own eyes. Surely a decadent art this, the art of a Bernard Shaw, a Daudet or a Flaubert, where the artist emphasises the difference between himself and the common crowd, and even feels pleasure from its contemplation, when he is so vainly self-conscious and no longer under the influence of inner relationships and necessities. Even religion keeps itself aloof from the work-a-day world and goes under the name of mysticism.

Apotheosis of the State.—In Europe, again, we find the other side of the shield. An exaggerated expression is given to the ideal of order. The English Revolution of 1688 marked the first rise of the tide of individualism ; the French Revolution may be regarded as its climax. The Franco-Prussian War similarly marked the first rise of the tide of collectivism ; the recent war may be regarded as the climax of collectivism. The line of philosophical tradition in Germany has been consistent in elevating the state to be the chief vehicle of civilised work. Spinoza wished to have men swear not by God, but by the welfare of their country. Fichte wrote : “ The gradual interpenetration of the citizen by the state is the political characteristic of our age. We do indeed desire freedom, and we ought to desire it ; but true freedom can be obtained only by means of the highest obedience to law.” According to Schelling also the state as the organised community was an end in itself. About him Treitschke wrote : “ The completed world of history was found by him in the state, the great work of art which lifted high above the individual will was an end in itself, realising the harmony of necessity and freedom in the external life of reality.” But it was Hegel’s philosophy which developed the state to its fullest perfection. Hegel had lived through the French Revolution and had come to realise the gravity of the crimes committed in the name of liberty. The political situation in Germany also needed the teaching like that of Macchiavelli in Italy. The Holy Roman Empire of German name was a mere abstraction. The provinces West of the Rhine were lost to Germany. The disasters at

Hohenlinden and Marengo were still fresh in everybody's memory. The petty German states were constantly intriguing with one another and the Peace of Luneville served to stereotype misrule and disorder. There was the practical necessity of vindicating the claims of one state, viz., Prussia, to be supreme. These historical conditions explain the exaggerated expression which Hegel gave to his idea of the greatness of the state. The state, according to Hegel, is the realisation of concrete freedom, "the vital union of the particular interests of its members with the relatively universal aims of man as man." Again, "The strength of a country lies solely in the way its parts are by reasonable combination made a single political force, enabling everything to be used for common defence." The state recognises no definite authority but its own—its prerogatives are the same as those of the sovereign Leviathan, but the basis of authority is that of the platonic king—not mere brute force, but "the sublime force of great men"—whom people gladly call their lord and obey against their will—who is their god. Thus the state is no "mortal god" as Hobbes says, but in truth an immortal god. "God is the national head and the national life : in him all individuals have their differences rendered indifferent. Such an ethical life is absolute truth, absolute culture, absolute disinterestedness—it is, and immediately, the divine, absolute, real, existing and being, under no veil."

Thus the state is the "eternal and necessary realisation of the spirit of man": it is "a condition of the best kind of individual action." Hegel did not agree with the bureaucratic view that the state is a machine with a single spring which sets in motion all the rest of the machinery. Lifeless and wooden routine he hated. Indeed, Hegel's philosophy not only developed the state to its fullest perfection, but also at the same time made the most of the individual. Hegel limited the state duties thus: "Everything which is not directly required to organise and maintain the force for giving security without and within must be left by the central government to the freedom of the citizen, for this freedom is itself sacred."

Decay of Idealism in Germany.—Lord Haldane once remarked that Hegel's theory of political obligation is at the root of all that is best and noblest in German political life of to-day. But in the hands of later philosophers and theorists Hegel's philosophy was sought to defend theories and actions with which the great philosopher had no sympathy. Hegel said that the union of duty and right is one of the most important characteristics of the state, and constitutes its inner strength. The individual, in accomplishing his duty, finds self-satisfaction. Thus, from his relation to the state, there springs a right, so that the public affair becomes his own affair. It is this union of duty with interest, which in Hegel's view is the indispensable minimum essential to a state. It is the basis of that organised strength, the central and united force, on which the true state edifice rests. But "a gospel of duty separated from empirical purposes and results tends to gag intelligence. It substitutes for the work of reason displayed in a wide and distributed survey of consequences an inner consciousness, empty of content, which clothes with the form of rationality the demands of existing social authorities." Thus Hegel's theory of political obligation came to justify the autocratic demands of the Prussian bureaucracy. Idealism in Germany was gradually obscured by the growth of materialism and militarism. After Hegel the metaphysical materialism of Fierbach held its sway. Karl Marx and Engels gave an economic interpretation of history, and helped to swell the tide of realism and materialism which was already rising high as a result of the over-technic civilisation in Germany. The growing industrialism of Germany helped to promote the materialistic tendencies. A German writer observes: "When a great part of the population changed their abode from the farming country to the industrial centres of great cities, all the old convictions of the household, its religion, its morality, remained behind, or during the subsequent migrations, perished altogether. What happened in the period from 1870—1890 was that the people first of all lost contact with the old ecclesiastical point of view." The break-up of the family in the village

and consequent collapse of Christian family discipline went hand in hand with Biblical criticism and the growing disbelief in Christianity and Christian ethics. Above all, the rise of Prussia to sudden greatness, by the aid of sheer brute force and Macchiavellian methods in politics, was itself a phenomenon that was uppermost in men's minds and swept away the lingering traces of the former idealism. Windelband well said: "The age of Bismarck produced no great poetry and no adequate philosophy."

The German Socialistic State.—We have already traced the baneful effects of an immoral individualism. The evils of a crass collectivism are no less manifest. "Seldom has the life of the individual been so regulated by the state for its own purposes as it is in recent times." Bureaucracy, with its steam-roller of dull routine and uniformity, is now tending to brush aside all individual peculiarities and differences. State socialism, with all the vexatious interferences it implies, disciplines the whole nation as an armed battalion. The state becomes the all-powerful social group. Individual lives are counted more or less as mere parts of a military-industrial machine. All other social groupings and organisations are made subservient to the ends and interests of the state.

Such have been the excesses of the doctrine of collectivism. It has tended to reduce the citizen to a mere wheel of the social machinery, moving as the latter bids. The training of the citizen for the purposes of the aggressive state has tended to become the goal of education. Art aims at subserving the purposes of society. Ethics inculcates the cultivation of heroic virtues on which the nation can rely for military achievements, while science endeavours to invent and discover the methods and processes conducive to industrial and military efficiency.

Two Types of European Thought.—Modern European thought is divided into two broad streams. There is the type of thought in which the individual appears as the representative of an inner infinity as compared with all outward limitations. It is, of course, not the individual of immediate existence, as the hedonist and the utilitarian

conceived him to be : for he is neither independent nor self-contained. Fichte, for example, conceived that the ego alone was real and the world was an idea, a manifestation of the ego. Schelling answered in a different tune. The world is real, but its essence is the ego, the self within. Here we have an attitude that stands for the greatest possible advancement of all that is individual in civilisation. But the individualism is apt to merge into subjectivism. The individual comes to depend not on the spiritual world but on his own immediate existence.

Thus there arises another attitude. The individual abandons himself in the world. Spinoza conceived of the over-soul. The ego in Spinoza was absolutely quiescent. Hegel's system of philosophy is the best embodiment of this attitude. The world is the realisation of the Idea in Hegel. The history of civilisation is the evolution of the Idea. Hegel's system of thought, spreading beyond its limits, has exercised a profound influence on modern European life. In the midst of the cares and perplexities of men, and the rise and fall of races, the conviction has gained ground that after all civilisation is slowly advancing, and the life and labour of men who work for it have a deep significance. Civilisation grows. The old gives place to the new. Races grow and decay. Leaves fade and wither, but the tree lives through all time. In the eternal spring of world-life civilisation is ever green, ever blossoming forth fresh flowers.

But this system, however attractive it may look, is not acceptable. If I am borne away like a wisp of straw by the irresistible life-stream of the world, what do I create ? Where is the joy of my creation ? I sacrifice myself. Of what significance is my sacrifice if its end is unknown to me ? If I cannot establish an inner relationship between me and civilisation, civilisation is of no significance to me and I am a mere puppet, devoid of life and soul.

In the elaborate and over-technic civilisation of Europe man is reduced to a wheel in the complicated system of social machinery. He spins round and round and finds no rest. He does not know why he moves. It is not his affair, and his joy. He feels how insignificant, how powerless he is.

Biological Philosophy Rescued from Pessimism by Bergson.—The teaching of modern biology has emphasised man's insignificance and his powerlessness. Nature creates and perfects a type of life after an age-long process, then it creates another type : and the latter kills the former. The species which has worked and sacrificed so much in the struggle for life and come out victorious has no other object but to live. The struggle for existence is so relentless, that there is no object of life save and except preservation from death. Man, the climax of the evolutionary process, is entirely dependent for his bodily structure and mental endowment on heredity and the environment. Man has no independent existence ! The development of life is nothing but maintenance in the struggle for survival. There is no such thing as the good in itself. The true can exist so far only, as it is fitted for assisting in the preservation of life. Such a conception as a whole was bound to create a widespread pessimism. Man is bound down to mere nature. His labour and struggle have no other object but the preservation of life, of physical existence. He merely accomplishes with more complicated means what plants and animals achieve in simple and easy fashion. Huxley boldly asserted that the ethical process supersedes the cosmic process, but he could not stem the tide of materialism and pessimism.

The secret of the profound influence which Bergson is to-day exercising on European thought is that he has rescued modern philosophy from the concepts of the mechanical theory of evolution. The mechanical doctrine of evolution denies that there is an inner impulse, a development from within and from the whole. To Bergson, on the other hand, life is essentially a process of creative evolution. If consciousness be merged in the stream of life, the conflict between the ethical and the cosmic process which troubled Huxley so much is at an end, and the secret of life is discovered. Ethical manifestation becomes in Bergson an adjunct of the movement by which life is transmitted. In Bergson's ecstatic vision, "Sometimes in a fleeting vision the invisible breath that bears all living being onward is

materialised before our eyes. We have these sudden illuminations before certain forms of maternal love, so striking, so touching in most animals, observable too in the solicitude of the plant for its seed. This love in which some have seen the great mystery of life may rather, perhaps, disclose to us life's secret. It shows us each generation bending over the generation to follow. It enables us to perceive by a sudden glimpse that a living being is above all a place of passage, and that the essential thing in life is the movement by which life is transmitted."

Problems of Western Mechanical Civilisation.—

Again do we find the individual losing his independence and merged in the universal: not in the universal Idea, as in Hegel, but in the universal flux. In the West, either we have the doctrine of over-soul, or we have sensationalism or hedonism, either the gospel of duty, of the absolute and categorical imperative, or utilitarianism. Either Christianity, transcendental and absolutely rejecting the world, or positivism and humanitarianism. Either man grows independent and separates himself from civilisation, or civilisation reduces him to a mere means. Either individualism or collectivism. Either the natural rights of men, or the divine right of the state. Either Bolshevism and Syndicalism, the disintegration of the state and society into groups and units, or the tremendous power and strength of the state, regarded as "earthly yet divine," and the levelling down of individual peculiarities and repression of genius. Either the solitary greatness of supermen, or the dead-level of mediocrity. Individualism in philosophy has merged into subjectivism. In social life it has meant a licence that has disturbed the social equilibrium, and in the economic field the exploitation of the weak by the strong that is the problem of problems. Collectivism in philosophy has manufactured a gospel of duty, empty of content and deifying the existing social authorities; in social life it has meant a semi-military bureaucracy, and in economics will imply the regulation of industry and reduction of the labourers to cogs of a machine for supporting and bolstering the selfish interests of classes and races. In more recent times the introduction of women's

labour on a vast scale, the Military Service Act, the National Service Act, the great steps already taken in the direction of state-socialism, the fixing of prices and wages in some cases, the limitation of output in others, compulsory arbitration, the introduction of a large national scheme of education—these are the salient features of collectivism that have confronted the Western civilisation.

Such are the inevitable antitheses and conflicts in a mere mechanical civilisation, and in a mere mechanical society. Whether the Westerner is an individualist or a collectivist, society to him is a vast machine, and the bonds that bind individuals to it are mechanical.

The conflicting problems of individual and social civilisation can be solved only with the help of an inner vision. Only a spiritual consciousness can solve what have hitherto been the insoluble problems of a merely mechanical culture.

And India can certainly supply that inner vision and that spiritual consciousness.

The Solution Offered by India.—For in the synthetic ideal, that the East strives after, man would realise that he takes part in the work of civilisation not for alien and unknown ends, led away by the current of life which he cannot resist, but rather to realise his own purpose. He would even control and direct history and society from a consciousness of ends and ideals which he gains from spiritual life. Man stands betwixt the two worlds, the temporal and the spiritual. The spiritual world is independent : it is the true, the good and the beautiful. In India man is grounded in an unchanging spiritual world, and from this world he would discover the influences that move and direct. Evolution and history would become to his vision realisations of his purposes, processes of his "becoming." He would express his spiritual self in and through human history, and civilisation would become in a real sense his handiwork. Then he would find that he cannot accept the world of immediate existence as real, and yet he must realise his spiritual freedom under the restrictions of this immediate existence. Not denying the temporal world, as the Christian would, he would live his spiritual life in the crude and soulless

existence offered here. This involves ethical effort. Man strives. It becomes his duty to rise above his immediate existence, to conquer the material aspects of the world so as to bring them into subjection to the spirit. Art arises from the conflict between the inward and the outward existence. Art gives expression to the inward, raises the outward above its crudity and ugliness, and thus effects an integration of life.

Ideals India Rejects:—Social life and institutions as well are regulated by concepts derived from the independent spiritual world within. India would reject the ideal of social democracy because it is guilty of an exaggerated emphasis of the merely sensuous man. She would not accept the economic ideal as the governing end of life because it exaggerates the importance of the merely physical wants, and further because it calculates everything in terms of utility and power, and reinforces the competitive view of things. India would reject individualism which abandons inner necessities and relationships: and she would reject collectivism and state-socialism which repress individuality and hamper the originality of creative genius.

The Communal Vision of India.—India stands for communalism. The basis and support of communalism as a social framework and a social ideal is her profound and conscious realisation of a cosmic humanism, according to which the individual governs all his subjective and objective experiences in terms of the one and all-sufficient relation with God as manifest in the pulsating life of nature and humanity. His relation to society is governed by his vision of the infinite in all finite things, of the One-in-the-Many and the Many-in-the-One, through which he realises that society is the larger soul and the more compelling personality before which all his subjectivism fades into insignificance. To him society is God made manifest. The absolute, working through time and history, has this mediate existence, Society. That which is substantially unchangeable manifests itself in the human sphere, and becomes subject to the conditions of time and history. Every service to society, which is the infinite made finite, is a step in the realisation of the infinite. And the infinite is the real self. The state would not be regarded as

omnipotent on *à priori* grounds, and its dictates would not be invested with any *à priori* moral validity. The state would be looked upon as one of the groups to which an individual belongs. The dictate of the state would claim obedience only when it is ethically higher than that of its possible opponents, the other communal groups of which the citizen is also a member. When conflict arises he would make his choice on moral grounds. Society and communal groups which spring from natural and spiritual relationships would call forth the obedience of man. And man obeying them would realise that he is obeying his real self, and not a far-off teleological god or an idea, or a "servile state," the descendant of a conqueror who demands subjection. Communal groups would give private personality the most independent development, while at the same time reduce this element into substantial unity with and make it a means for the realisation of the social personality. Each of the communal groups would thus aid the fullest development of character. The only sure and right development of the state would be that represented by a ring of free communal groups, autonomous and integral parts of a common body politic, united by ties of mutual obligation, not for aggressive expansion and exploitation, but for the creation and distribution of all that is great in a spiritual civilisation, and the corresponding enrichment of individual and social personality. Each of these semi-independent communal bodies having particulate jurisdiction would participate in the sovereignty, and the origin and validity of laws would rest not on the fiat of a centralised organ, but on the system of social and moral traditions that arise out of a voluntary co-operation of these bodies. Such laws would be recognised and ratified by the state which would be the watchman and the ward, and which would help towards maintaining the traditions for each of the infinite organs whether in the forms of economic, industrial, religious or other associations. The state in the West has become too much the descendant of the invader and conqueror who levies and gets tribute rather than the development of the village community or the free city. The liberties of peoples

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were wrested from unwilling rulers by bitter civil wars and struggles. In the East political freedom was built upon the basis of village republics, and communal groups and rights and liberties were established by an unwritten law and a constitution which was a free gift of the intellectuals to the people designed to enable them to share according to their capacity in the common spiritual and material inheritance. In politics, communalism would stand for the ideal of co-operation of states and nations, not the ambition and aggression of a jingoistic imperialism; not for the ideal of a gradually increasing bureaucracy with gradually enlarging powers of keeping the people in order, inspecting and regulating the details of life, but of an enlightened community, increasingly able to regulate their own affairs by co-operation in various fields. Such a community would not be led away by conventional education and machine-made politics to scorn the needs and interests of the small village, but would actively participate in the administration of their own villages, cities and districts in a people's state, communal in its lower stratifications, and democratic and federal in its organisation, which would maintain the primary value of direct political activities in communal bodies and local assemblies developing independently of and parallel to the central governing organisation, and which, at the same time, would give more attention to the larger spiritual life outside the state and the nation, and more scope to the individual through whom alone the larger life can be attained. Communalism would stand for a spiritual and organic conception of society, not a human and mechanical conception. The family and guild, the industrial and other functional groups, the spiritual brotherhood and the village community are associations to which the individual would be tied by organic and spiritual bonds. All these, as well as the state, would be necessary and not accidental for him in order to satisfy his multiform desires in a civilisation that is not material but raised to spiritual. Clans, castes, guilds, village unions and states have their special gods and goddesses; and in the periodical fasts and festivals the brotherhood would meet in a confluent outpouring of concrete religious emotion. India would believe in monotheism,

but true monotheism derives an inner strength and satisfaction from pantheism and pluralism. India would not believe in state socialism and state organisation along one line, but she would find strength in the voluntary co-operation of countless social groups directing the development of individual and social personality along every field of individual and social endeavour. India would believe in the Man-in-God and yet she would draw inspiration from the God-in-Man. She would believe in supermen, great and deep souls who organise themselves in *sanghas* or communal brotherhoods to serve society, and for whose sake we can hold fast our faith in man. "Live dangerously," "spare not thy neighbour,"—not these, but "live and let live," "love thy neighbour as thyself," would be the mottoes of their life. In the superman, human weaknesses and frailties would be rendered strength and power. Out of an abundant love and a deep sympathy, pain and necessity, ignorance and weakness would be removed, and all would grow into greatness and goodness. As in individual, so in social life—not a parasitic financialism and imperialism, not coercion and exploitation of the weak by the strong, but mutual help and support, the strong giving strength to the weak, and the weak finding strength in the strong, in a co-operation of classes and races proclaiming and maintaining peace and goodwill on earth. That is India's cult, her faith and her vision in the world of lust and hate, upset by the conflict of classes and the wars of nations in an erring civilisation.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMUNALISM AND ECONOMIC THEORY.

WHAT light does communalism throw upon modern economics? To which ideal are we tending? These are the broad questions which now force themselves upon our attention.

Economic Problems Solved by Communalism.—Communalism is based on the belief that society possesses a unity and life of its own, to the furtherance of which each individual or class contributes in the pursuance of particular interests. The sacrifices each individual is called upon to make for society and class are not encroachments upon but enlargements of his personality. Communalism would avoid class struggles or the conflicts between individual rights and social duties. Individual liberty is duly maintained, and yet individual needs are subordinated to social welfare. Society is the higher life in relation to which individual act or life is regulated. The controlling considerations in every act or policy are social not individual in their character. Every act or policy is judged with reference to society, and not the individual. Communalism would disclaim the hedonistic psychology and individualistic ethics on which Western economics has its basis, and thus solve many of the conflicting problems and controversies in economics which have been raging in the West for a long time. The West, with its absolute ideas of individual liberty derived from an individualistic ethics, interferes with rights of property when there is a convincing and irrefragable evidence of the necessity of such interference. This makes every such interference the subject of controversy. Communalism emphasises the rights of society and finds social utility as the sole justi-

fication of private property. It is not a problem of "interference" here, but of social service; there is no false antithesis between man and the state, no bolstering up of the rights of man. Communalism does not recognise absolute rights in land. The cultivator in the village community cannot do what he pleases with the land he holds in possession. The land is distributed into parcels for separate enjoyment, but it belongs in theory to the whole community. The cultivator cannot use or transfer the land in a way likely to injure the community which has the power to prohibit transfer absolutely or lay down restrictions as to the purposes for which such transfer may be effected. This regulated system of private property, where property is separately cultivated and enjoyed, and yet is owned and operated on communal principles, and not for private profit at the expense of society, is superior to any land nationalisation plan. At the same time it ensures that fixity of tenure which is essential for improvement, the encouragement of thrift and industry, as well as the development of personality. The communal ideal of property would set at rest all the conflicting claims of individualism and socialism in the economic field.

Communalism Raises the Plane of Mankind.—The best argument for socialism is that conscious co-operation leads to the development of better types of manhood. But in socialism the state seeks to replace industrial competition by the exercise of coercive authority through a bureaucratic organisation that discourages individual functioning by standardising social function, and thus tends to stop individual variations in the species. Communalism seeks the same end by the co-operation of free and independent social groups which regulate industrial competition and set men free to compete in science, in art, in learning, in nobler and deeper living. Competition is accordingly raised from a literal struggle for existence in the biological plane to subtler and finer competition in the etho-sociological plane. Here the literal struggle for existence is replaced by an endeavour after well-being which continues in a subtler, more rational and more humane form the automatic singling and sifting which goes on in nature.

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This ideal, if realised, would fulfil the best psychical conditions of human progress in the new biology. Man, in contrast with other creatures, develops around him an external heritage, a social framework of customs and traditions, of laws and institutions, of literature and art, by which results almost equivalent to the organic transmission of certain kinds of modifications may be brought about : " The history of human progress has been mainly the history of man's higher educability, the products of which he has projected on to his environment. This educability remains on the average what it was a dozen generations ago ; but the thought-woven tapestry of his surroundings is refashioned and improved by each succeeding generation." An elastic caste system provided the favourable social environment by which the selection of the fittest in every vocation in life was carried out. The above throws a new light on the significance of caste, and the traditional and customary social values in India as determining social rank or gradation. The economic stratification as implied by communalism would solve many of the insoluble problems of individualism and socialism in the field of economics.

Caste or Trade Union.—The communal theory of wages similarly would set at rest the labour controversy in the West. In India the industrial caste performs the functions of the trade union. It insures the members against accident or death. It is a benefit society as well as an industrial school. It educates apprentices. Like the trade union the caste standardises conditions of work and labour. But the trade union tends to become a close corporation, limiting the number of apprentices and thus restricting the output. It objects to the introduction of new machinery and new methods. The labour controversy cannot be solved by the point of view of the labour union alone. The right of the individual labourer is not all-sufficient. The individual has the right to work, but he has no right to work under conditions which are detrimental to the interests of the group, overtaxing the energies and scaling down the remuneration of the average labourer. On the other hand, the group should not act as a closed body. It should offer equal

benefits to the unfortunate and the peculiarly gifted as well as to the common run of labourers. Caste ought not to be a close corporation. Its aim had been to enlist heredity in the selection of artistic and manual skill, but it proved ineffective ; first, because the inheritance of acquired aptitudes in this direction is extremely doubtful by this method ; secondly, because it led to a divorce between the interests of art and industry and those of the cultural and personality groups ; and, thirdly, because the process of selection was not constantly maintained from generation to generation, which alone could secure the requisite fluidity and constant adaptation of aptitudes to work.

Apprenticeship.—The caste also seeks to provide for an admirably vitalised teaching of apprentices from a very early age. It thus seeks to ensure a high standard of life and to prevent degradation of labour. Does not the caste organisation, with its rules regulating apprenticeship and the nature and conditions of work and labour, and being constantly recruited from workmen having the same *milieu*, life interests and aptitudes, avoid the evil tendencies of unions while achieving the same object ?

Wage Problem.—The trade union has emphasised the cost theory of wages, but that is only a partial explanation of the wage problem. In the West the opposition between the cost theory and the productivity theory of wages rests on the failure to discern their social basis. In communalism the value of labour is recognised as depending upon the social service it renders. The cost theory restated in terms of the standard of life and of comfort theory and the productivity theory thus becomes supplementary, but it is the standard of life determined by public opinion according to an ethical standard on which the ultimate explanation of wages is to be as found in the communal scheme. Wages may be expressed in terms of productivity, but the positive force is the ethical standard. The ethical standard or "fair wages" system requires the maintenance of a high standard of work as essential to its success. A high productivity is ensured by the caste regulations and the communal control of production in India.

Value.—Similarly the opposition between the cost theory and the utility theory of value rests on the failure to discern its social basis which has led to much pointless controversy in the West. Value is essentially a social conception. The marginal cost around which values gravitate is not individual cost, but social cost. The value of a commodity is due not to the labour of the individual who has made it, but to the social service which it is going to render, i.e., to the social sacrifice which it is going to save. When we say that individual cost of production fixes value, we really mean that it expresses the value that is fixed by social forces as a whole. Similarly, in exchange, the equilibrium is not between the pain and the pleasure of the individual, but between the pain and pleasure of the groups. This implies a restatement of the fundamental postulates of the Austrian school of economists. Individual utility is indeed not equal to individual cost, but social marginal utility must everywhere be equivalent to social marginal cost.¹ All these are implied in the determination of fair prices in the communal scheme.

Western economists distinguish between internal and international trade, and find in the latter that value depends on reciprocal demand and reciprocal cost in the sense of comparative social sacrifice. With a larger social outlook, the same analysis would have been applied to all trade, i.e., to all value, because in internal as well as in international commerce, the controlling considerations are social.² This extended application of the theory of marginal utility, raised from its narrow individualistic outlook, which is itself a corollary from the equation of demand and supply, cannot be used to determine wages, because we cannot know the social marginal sacrifice which labour saves as separate from the other elements of production.

Communalism a Corrective to Individualism.—In the West the doctrine of absolute rights of individuals,

¹ *Proceedings of the American Economic Association, 15th Annual Meeting.*

² *Vide Seager's Introduction to Economics* for a recognition of social considerations in questions of value and utility.

the democratic estimate of every one as one, a hedonistic psychology, a utilitarian ethics and a one-sided biologicistic philosophy all emphasise individual considerations in all the social sciences, and especially in economics, in the name of a false doctrine of natural liberty. In the latter field, the Austrian school studied value, demand and utility as essentially psychological concepts, but their psychology was inadequate, hedonistic and individualistic. With the biologists they also gave a wrong trend to the development of economic theories. Communalism, with its emphasis of the rights of society and of social considerations, would be a corrective of the narrowness of Western economic thought, the background of which is an exclusively individualistic or competitive, and hence an inadequate, philosophy of social life.

The New Economics.—The recoupment of the waste involved in human effort is, as we have seen, the vital meaning and significance of consumption; and the law of the equivalence of energies, including potential as well as kinetic, governs production.

Similarly the economic phenomena of distribution, which have their rise in the principle of recoupment or restoration of expended energy, are governed by the law of equivalence of energies in a higher plane, involving not merely mathematical proportions as in production, but also the proportions of moral and communal justice which work themselves out through laws of physical and biological equivalence. Thus, wages represents a form of the recoupment of energy, and communal justice implies a return equivalent to the effort spent. This recoupment of energy is represented as a form of reward in the shape of pleasures or satisfactions as a compensation for the pain of effort involved in labour. But this is a totally inadequate view of the case. The new concept of dynamical economics based on energetics, on the other hand, represents this recoupment as a restoration of the expended store of energy in the form of capacity for new productions and constructions, a capacity which not only comprehends efficient subsistence, including the requirements of healthy family life and child-rearing and all the

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healthy pleasures and satisfactions which such subsistence entails as by-products, but principally the dynamic force of the individual as the producer of values. This will correct the aberrations of the present-day hedonistic, statical economics which is responsible for the figment of the merely economic man living on the hedonistic plane ; which has made the machine the measure of man instead of man the measure of the machine, and which, in a de-humanised and desocialised struggle for living, has missed the supreme principle of value itself in the pursuit of so-called economic values. The new economics, which thinks in terms of human values and capacities, will set before itself the idea of free self-conscious creative activity as an integral element in the social remuneration of labour, and, accordingly, all organisations of industry will proceed on the principle that this capacity, which must be the measure of labour's remuneration and recoupment, includes in itself the autonomous capacity of self-determination and the control of production without which mere economic values are at least valueless and at worst disruptive and degrading.

It is this comprehensive concept of economic science that will correct the limited and sectional view of it which has erected a huge superstructure on the slender basis of a particular instinct of man, that of acquisitiveness and greed, without any complete scientific view and analysis of all the various factors and elements, impulses and instincts which condition man as *a consumer and as a producer of values in a milieu of social co-operation*. This then is our definition of economics.

Economic and Human Values.—Communalism represents a more humanised and socialised science of wealth and welfare. Economics cannot be socially serviceable unless it widens its range and rises above mere money values as the standard of human welfare. The structure and methods of industry have a direct bearing on the distribution of population, the home and family life, art, education, enjoyment and morals—in one word, on general well-being and culture ; conversely, it is ethical

and social ideals, or the moral ordering of life, which modify or regulate economic action and create or recreate a country's economic institutions. Thus, the problems of vital efficiency should never be ignored by the economist if he wishes to raise his science above empty and futile abstractions. The economic world exists within the limits of and in subordination to a wider ethical and spiritual world whose demands are more imperative than those of the former. In the West economic efficiency has become the engrossing end of life. An economic valuation has become supreme. In the undue emphasis of money-values, life-values have sometimes been disregarded. The science of economics, proud of its victory over the other sciences of human welfare, extols the economic man and his business ethics with a vengeance.

Communalism stands not for mere economic efficiency, but for vital efficiency, subordinating the former to the governing end of an all-round human and social well-being. A society's complete living includes much more than economic success. A science which forgets that economic efficiency is a proximate end, conceives of society as having a healthy and complete development, if only it has a distended stomach; the latter brings disease first on itself and then on the other organs. It is well to repeat the truism that the economic man is a fiction. Truisms are too easily forgotten. In modern economics the economic man still looms large. The economist is apt to forget the limitations which he admits he has himself imposed on his own studies. He too readily forgets that he studies man in only one phase of his existence, and that his conclusions therefore are provisional, not final conclusions with regard to the conduct of life in general. Society has its hunger to satisfy. But there are also appetites for knowledge, beauty and goodness, the desire for the family and for other associations to be satisfied. All social activities and institutions, including the economic, are a net resultant of a complex of forces. Culture represents a harmonious and unarrested development of all desires of men; an inordinate development of economic

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motives and activities implies a decline of culture. There are the family, the church, the industrial class or caste, the social groups and art, the moral and religious ordering of life as well which satisfy desires no less important for the fuller life of the individual and species than economic motives. Civilisation implies that these regulate social development and economic causes become less and less dominant.

Pareto says: "Man's actual conduct resembles that of the *homo economicus*, or that of the *homo ethicus*, or that of the *homo religiousus*. It is sometime a composite of all these characters. There are concrete phenomena in which economic influences transcend all others, and here it is possible to consider alone the results deduced by economic reasoning; while there are other phenomena in which the economic constituent is insignificant and may be neglected. There are still others which are intermediate in character." Again, the economic motives are not merely not all-engrossing, but they have constantly extending or diminishing zones of operation; even in the so-called economic zone it is seldom that there are unmixed motives. Economic and non-economic motives are perpetually intertwined. How can economics be a real study and direct a social policy if it restricts itself to mere economic motives and loses touch with the whole man and the realities of his complete life? Something more comprehensive than a mere monetary standard of valuation is necessary in order to regulate the specialisation of intellectual labour on the one hand and to utilise such labour for social policy on the other. Specialism and separatism without a comprehensive and general standard of valuation are dangerous and at best futile. This will be more and more recognised in the West as in actual industrial life the economic forces are more or less regulated at the behest of the working-man's democracy, and as the ethical and political system gradually limits the zone of so-called economic activity. The housing problem, the land problem, the labour problem, the small industry problem, the arts and crafts problem and all the rest are demanding in the West an extension of the narrow

outlook of economic science and a more general standard of the valuation of goods and activities.

In economics communalism would stand for a valuation of goods according to vital efficiency and welfare. Communalism distinguishes between riches and wealth, and does not accept the conventional method of estimating national welfare from the money-income of the nation. Economics needs to be convinced that a people which cannot provide food for all the destitute and hungry in the land, and yet spends fortunes on trivial luxuries, is not wealthy.

The problem of the production of wealth has chiefly occupied the attention of Western economists. The evils of concentrated production have forced the distribution problem into importance. The distribution problem has assumed importance because the extravagance and idleness of the rich, and the poverty and want of the poor, militate against the interests of production. To the theoretical economist, "unproductive consumption" is a danger to production, while poverty reduces the efficiency of the "productivity" of labour! The attention is not drawn to the moral degeneration, the arrested development of human personality, in both cases. The primary subject of reference is the increase of wealth irrespectively of the conditions of welfare. Thus, both distribution and consumption are studied within the limits and in virtue of production, which is still the governing subject of interest in economic science.

The Humanisation of Economics.—The problem of the distribution of wealth which works within the limits of the fundamental social institutions comprising the organisation of economic life will now receive emphasis, and both production and distribution will be studied with reference to the social and the legal system, the development of technology, the scheme of social stratification, and the arts of consumption and enjoyment in their bearings upon individual and social welfare. Social psychology in its analysis of the motives of economic behaviour, the methods of consumption, the use and enjoyment got from consumption, will furnish the economist with tools of thought.

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Economics will study economic goods with reference to the use and enjoyment derived from them, as well as trace their history in their productive understages. Economics will not forget the social and humanistic bearings of the method of industry or the discrepancies between market value and a more comprehensive view of social values. It will not confine itself to a mechanical study of the processes of production and distribution of wealth, which have ultimate value and significance chiefly in their relations to vital efficiency and welfare. Along with the objective structure of industry, business and trade, or the mechanical processes of production and distribution, the social scheme, the legal system and the economic framework, developments in technics and the arts of production, the psychological conditions of labour and of industrial classes generally, the arts of enjoyment and well-being chiefly with reference to the development of the personality, the ideals and social values that are astir in this era of reconstruction will occupy important place in the scheme of economics. Finally, economics must include in its analysis and survey new fields of economic types, forms and institutions connected with their ethnic and national variations in the diverse zones of cultural distribution. The value of economics more humanised in its method, wider in its scope and field of survey, more comprehensive in its criterion of valuation, is apparent ; this not only for correcting the harmful and barren specialisms in the field of social sciences, but also for helping in the formulation of a system of comparative economics, which will place universal economics on more adequate and scientific foundations.

Western Economics Need Completing by the East.—

Western economists and sociologists have based their theories and conclusions on the data supplied by the Western social structure, which represents only fragmentary data for the study of human and social experiments. Their sciences can give only partial and intermediate generalisations, based as these are on sectional analysis and an incomplete collection and classification of facts. The Eastern social structures, which have still to contribute vital,

enduring and pregnant truths with regard to social constructions and organisations, have been ignored. The foundation of Western social structure is the dualism of the state and the individual, and that of Eastern society is the pluralism of the group as an intermediate body between the state and the individual units. The watchword of social progress in the West has been individualism. But when individualism has outgrown its uses, and proved its incompatibility with the solidarity of the community, the West is now trying to find refuge in co-operation and trade unionism, syndicalism and state socialism. The watchword of Eastern social progress has been communalism, but communalism is now being brought to confusion by the powerful weapons of states and the disruptive tendencies of an unregulated competition and individualism which, with the development of the means of communication, are no longer satisfied with local upheavals, but are throwing the social institutions throughout the world into the melting-pot. The development of Eastern social institutions lies, as we have pointed out, in the direction of incorporating more and more the life of the individual and the general will of the state personality into the varied forms of social grouping; while that of the West, as we have emphasised, depends on the successful initiation of social experiments for the formation of intermediate social groups based on communal instincts and sympathies. In India the shibboleth that individualism is efficiency and communalism is stagnation is to be discarded for ever. The new school of Indian economics seeks, from the historical standpoint, to point out the contribution of the Indian civilisation, and its characteristic organisation of voluntary co-operation of communal groups, as the lever of social progress to the history of universal culture. This work, if successfully done, will for ever render impossible the narrow sectional view of human history which ignores the lives and life-values, the experiences of more than half the human race, the Asiatic peoples, and their social constructions and organisations which are in essence not less real and significant than the Græco-Romano-Gothic consciousness with its works and experi-

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ences. This new school will point out the genius for social constructions based on the communal and synthetic instinct of the Indo-Sino-Japanese civilisations, and will thus make it possible to utilise in the coming era the rich and complex data for human and social experiments which these Eastern forms and creations have furnished, and will continue to furnish, in the history of man and his making.

Coming Western Reconstruction.—There is no doubt that the fundamental social institutions of the West, such as the state and private property, as well as the economic organisation, will be built anew as a result of the war. The omnipotent socialistic state, obtruding its suckers into the sacred domains of private and personal life, and accepting the criterion that it is the majority who must after all rule and the minority who must submit with the best grace possible ; the power of the financial and capitalistic interests, in spite of the advance in political democracy ; a capitalistic system of industry creating an enormous disparity of wealth in society and maintaining and perpetuating an industrial oligarchy ; the evils of poverty, unemployment, overcrowding and slums with rebound from those into worse evils, drink, debauchery and disease ; the divorce of life from nature and from nature's standards ; the loss of human sympathies and private affections ; the lust for power—power in war by the state derived from command of the seas by the navy and of the lands by the army, and power in wealth in the individual, instead of intellectual power and intrinsic wealth, the wealth of art, literature and religion for a nation, and of character and spirituality for the individual ; the evils of financialism, capitalism and militarism, with rebound from these into worse evils, the struggle for power and class-conflict in society, commercial and political competition, and scientific use of force on a world-wide scale as the way to the survival of the fittest : all these, which have their appropriate theologies in a machine-politics, a monetary economics and a mechanical biology, will give place in a scientific and democratic civilisation to healthier

social institutions which will emphasise man's return to a freer and nobler life, a return to human instincts and natural feelings, and to standards and norms derived from nature.

India's Contribution to Universal Economics.—The Indian economic scheme, which by utilising the communal habits and institutions for purposes of mechanical and technical efficiency will be able to withstand the inroads of industrialism, will supply valuable materials for the reconstruction of economic life that is in immediate prospect in the West. These materials will represent the human and social experiments of a race which has wisely limited the rights of the state and of private property, institutions which in the West are the supreme embodiments of appropriative and exploitative impulses, and has also wisely promoted creativeness at the expense of the appropriativeness that has become too much the characteristic of Western civilisation in industry and politics, both in internal and external relations, and has now thrown whole continents into the most dreadful confusion and catastrophe that the history of the human race has ever experienced. Communalism, the science of economics based on this economic scheme, will not only furnish new data of human and economic constructions and organisations, but will also help in the formulation of broad and general principles of economics by collating and comparing the judgments of value and validity of the Western and Eastern civilisations—a universal science to which the Indo-Sino-Japanese consciousness, with every other regional consciousness in the zones of cultural distribution, will contribute enduring and characteristic truths. For these truths are but conscious formulations of those aspects of the universe-idea revealed to this group-mind from its angle of vision and deeply embedded in its unconscious and subconscious strata. The economics of communalism, contributing to the formulation of universal economics, will also be the prelude to the new schools of sociological and humanistic sciences, schools of anthropology, sociology and politics, of comparative law and comparative jurisprudence which will subsume the

intermediate generalisations and formulæ of the Western sciences in principles of universal scope and validity derived from a corrected and extended historico-comparative method that is first applied to the study of economic phenomena.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMUNALISM AND THE ECONOMIC IDEAL.

Communalism as a Religion.—Communalism has its chief value as a comprehensive art of human and social well-being. It is not merely a philosophy or an economics, with a wider, and a more humanised and socialised outlook. Communalism stands for a spiritual unity in society, constantly demanding the sacrifice of individual and class for the development of personality and self-realisation in a higher life, and a more compelling personality called society, and has the power of a religion with us. Nothing can more surely represent the triumph of spiritual ideals in the business affairs of work-a-day life than the supersession of economic individualism by co-operation. High spiritual and cultural ideals clothe themselves in a material form in the institution of communalism ; they have their eyes not towards an abstract God and a far-off heaven, but seek to build a paradise here on earth and now among men-in-God. Mere philosophy cannot create emotional reactions as religion does. Upon this religion the usefulness, durability and power of every institution and policy evolved by the Indian civilisation depend. Western economics, whether individualistic or socialistic, cannot re-create industrial life without this religion—it will only be encouraging discordant and separatist tendencies. Western economics at best might educate ; communalism acting as a religion regulates and inspires.

Distribution under Communalism.—The substitution of direct communal control for the profit-seeking motive of the individual which is the characteristic feature of our economic life is an imperative demand of the above

religion. Industry would be fairly apportioned to all. The distribution of industry would depend upon similarity of aptitudes, interests and tastes, and would be such that evokes the best socially useful labour from each individual or class. Society, through the different social groups, guilds or corporations, would ensure standard work, and prevent the demoralisation and degradation of labour.

Industry would be distributed among all according to the capability of each, and wages allotted according to the needs of the family. It is social will or an ethical standard, which is much more than the aggregate of individual wills, that would determine "fair" wages and "fair" profits. Neither state socialism, with its inspection and inspectors, nor industrial democracy, with its arbitration boards; neither economic co-operation, nor collective bargaining, is sufficient for securing justice in distribution. It is the concept of society as a collective personality and communalism based on that concept which can prevent the conflict of the functions of labour and capital, enterprise and routine work in industry. In communalism each performs its vital functions, and no longer develops exclusive interests, hostile to the whole organism, and thwarting its own development. Labour and property perform truly social functions. Private property in the complex tools of production which may be tyrannically used is not allowed. Common property is the rule where public utilities are concerned. There can be no transfer of land where the common interests of agriculture in the village may suffer. In every case there is a firm and wise regulation of rights of property in the interests of communal good. In no case is property allowed to be acquired and used by modes which are unjust and socially injurious.

In this refined and well-regulated system of industry and property, if inequalities of income survive, they are plainly justified as the counterpart of inequality of efforts and needs. As in the solar system there are tendencies to the restoration of the configuration when this is disturbed by extraneous forces, so in the communal scheme such inequalities that may rise cannot lead to the upsetting of the natural social equilibrium. The wide contrasts between enervating luxury

and soul-killing poverty, of conspicuous idleness and slavish toil are avoided. Economic distribution secures justice and regularity.

The security, regularity and justice of material distribution have their beneficial effects on leisure and enjoyment, education and art, civic morality and family life. They imply the realisation of the ideal of economic democracy—the participation of every man according to his capacity in the material and spiritual benefits of a common civilisation. They also imply that when the wastes of competition, luxury and idleness are prevented, the economic pressure ceases to be overpowering and all-engrossing, and human energies are conserved for the disinterested pursuits of truth, beauty and goodness. Life follows freely and briskly along every channel of individual, family and social endeavour to the benefit of civilisation, no longer material but raised to spiritual.

Qualitative Distribution.—But communalism represents more than an ideal of mere economic distribution. To support the progressive personality and social classes the communal order sets apart a portion of common property. There is a permanent endowment in support of disinterested social service, and pursuit of knowledge. The problem of distribution is lifted from a merely biological to a cultural problem. It no longer concerns itself with finding out means of livelihood for each person, but the conditions of life and efficiency which make for intellectual and spiritual progress, both for the individual and society. The plan of distribution here becomes entirely qualitative, liberating the art of eugenics to promote vital values, in their spiritual and intellectual meanings.

The West has developed either an eugenic or an eudemic ideal. The true art of social life would look both to the quality and to the quantity of population. Communalism seeks to satisfy the conditions which promote a sound and happy living of a large population, and at the same time encourage the unarrested development of a fuller and a more spiritually complex life of the personality groups, by giving them leisure and freedom from the economic pressure.

Thus the Indian plan of distribution is not economic, but ethical and humanistic, conducive to the higher quality of life and at the same not sacrificing quantity.

Common Welfare Preferred to Individual Wealth.—

Small farms and small industries prevent the concentration of wealth. Agriculture, especially with peasant proprietorship, is the best proof against the conflict of classes, and can secure justice and regularity in distribution with the least complexity and friction in the economic machinery. Communistic institutions, as well as the different social groups and the family, lead to a greater diffusion of wealth. The communal system of distribution absorbs the unearned increment like rent, as well as excessive profits, into communal income or into remuneration of labour, leads to the greater equalisation of incomes, secures justice and social peace and avoids social waste. Both agriculture and small industries, and the communal distribution as well, promote a greater diffusion of wealth, which we may repeat is not a mere economic gain. Social harmony and an unfettered freedom of opportunity for all are essential for the unarrested development of the personality of each individual in society. Agriculture and home industry carried on in the field and the cottage promote vital values which should not be ignored by the economist. The family, the home and the land-basis, each stands for the development of vital efficiency and organic welfare. And, lest economism comprehends the whole of life, the community would directly spend the profits of industry or the unearned increment, which go to add to the communal income for the encouragement of popular art, education, religion and social recreations. A portion would be set apart to support the personality social groups who increase the proportion of non-material to material wealth in society.

Competition not Abolished but Transformed.—

All these would restrict the growth of material consumption. As private luxuries arise as means for an ostentatious display of efficiency in competitive industry, in the communal organisation the desire for personal distinction shows itself in the display of the intellectual and spiritual qualities,

of the dignity of character and nobility of heart. Communalism raises competition from the purely biological to the etho-sociological plane. Rising beyond the ideal of industrial efficiency, it sets up an ideal of intellectual and spiritual efficiency. Competition is still a factor, but it develops not cunning and greed, too much developed by latter-day industrialism, but spiritual depth and greatness of character. In any case competition never is of a cut-throat nature, but is restricted by an ethical and humanistic standard which subordinates industrial needs to the compelling demands of the ethical and spiritual worlds. Natural and personal relationships are regarded as the standard to which contractual relationships are subordinated: thus the industrial world does not show any hard bargaining and sharp practices, and is more humanised than the latter-day industrial world of the West.

Consumption Uplifted.—Consumption would be more immaterial than material. Communalism emphasises a gradual uplift of the plane of consumption. In conventional economics, the merely biological plane of consumption is recognised. The true progress of wants lies not in the multiplication of physical wants, but in the ascent of wants, the progressive substitution of immaterial for material wants. It is this which implies the expansion of a fuller and spiritually complex personality. A real progress in the arts of consumption implies not merely that there are more varied wants, but that there are also less intense pleasures. There is more personal and discriminative demand for goods, which sets strict limits to the use of machinery and calls for a large application of individual skill and dexterity in arts and handicrafts. There is less private luxury, more socialised enjoyment. There are public luxuries. There are more social wants, fewer personal wants. The luxuries of the rich will be enjoyed by the poor. The rich and the poor will co-operate in the making of institutions, partly religious and partly educational and philanthropic. There will be seen popular initiatives. There will flourish popular songs, folk-lore, literature and romance, a popular religion of nature and of

humanity which will satisfy man's spiritual aspirations and rescue him from a barren economism with its exclusively pecuniary valuation—a naturalism and pluralism which binds man to the verities of nature and humanity instead of the worship of blind matter and stark sense that stultifies the intellect and befogs the vision. Every man will not only participate in the fruits of civilisation, but help in its progress. That is the ideal of a spiritual democracy no longer restricted to the ideal of mere material efficiency, but aiding the realisation of a fuller and an intellectually and spiritually complex life for all.

The Communalistic Ideal.—Communalism sets before itself the ideal of an upward social movement in which the less intellectual orders of society, by the operation of a popular religion and ethical institutions, as well as by art, literature and other cultural agencies, may be lifted up gradually to free reflective and disinterested service which is the essence of the true personality. It does not propose a division into two hostile groups, one concerned with quality without quantity of life, and the other with quantity without quality of life; one the exponent of vitality and reproduction without personality, and the other the exponent of a barren, anæmic, aristocratic personality without vitality; one for whom the scheme of life is based on the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number secured by mass methods and averages, and the other the exponent of a supermanism that tramples on the common herd of a toiling humanity. On the other hand, communalism proclaims that the weak and the ignorant shall inherit the fruits of the age-long quest of wisdom and goodness, and that the strong and the wise shall grow stronger and wiser by sharing the heat and burden of those whom the earth greets with no smile.

This ideal of each for all and all for each is sought to be realised in the constitution of the social unit in India, and in the organisation of social institutions, such as the family, the social groups and the community. Nothing exemplifies the harmony of antagonistic interests which communalism achieves as the Indian ideal of the status and function of

woman in family and society. One great social problem of the age is the hostility between the sexes which, long suppressed, has now broken out in great force amid the clash and conflict of industrialism and social unsettlement, but the way in which a *rapprochement* may be brought about without sacrificing the personality of either man or woman is indicated, however incompletely, by the communal constitution of the family in the best type of Indian social traditions. It is true that the woman's functions here need to be enlarged and expanded so as to embrace the collective social and humanitarian interests with the result of expanding the home and developing the woman's freer personality ; but the principle of communalism as the solvent of antagonisms, whether of class or sex, is the real vital force operative in the Indian settlement of the sex problem.

Woman's Sphere under Communalism.—In India the pre-eminent function of woman as the queen of the garden, and the mistress of the household, as directing work and the enjoyment of the fruits thereof, creates and re-creates civilisation. As the wife and co-partner, she makes civilisation sweet, beautiful and enjoyable. As the mother of the race, she transmits the fairer fruits ; she sacrifices herself for humanity in and through the child. Our religion, which is social appeal enforced and effective, says—she is symbolical of the divine Mother, another form of whom is society. Every other-regarding act is a step in the realisation of the mother in man, who directs the sacrifice of the individual for the family, of the class for society and of society for future generations as yet unborn. Society is not an hypothesis or an abstraction. It has a life and a soul, it calls forth our reverence, regard, love and sacrifice. The mother cultivates and teaches love, reverence and sacrifice in the under-stages which ultimately become the bonds of an organic unity of civilisation. She protects the purity of man and she protects the purity of society. She is the guardian angel, as the friend of the sick, the incapable and the unfortunate. She not only conserves and protects, but she also educates and inspires ; social relationships and institutions are through her raised from human purposive

associations to instruments of the divine will, and it is her imperative need and inalienable right to transmit to posterity the synthetic and culminating gift of man, society and God. These are her eupsychic functions. The family, with the woman (and her child) as its guardian, is the basis for eugenic and eupsychic reconstruction.

Communalism Threatened from the West.—These ideals and these structures are now threatened. Modern civilisation encourages the profit-seeking motive and an anti-social individualism. Modern Indian law, obsessed by individualistic notions and heedlessly applied, attacks our family, our communal organisation and village community. It attacks even the customary rights of women to property, and tends to give rise to a helpless and disattached or unattached womanhood or widowhood that has upset the settlement of the sex problem on traditional Indian lines. Modern science and thought encourage a bare, materialistic conception of life. They tend to lower the plane of our consumption, by attacking the time-honoured ideal of plain living and high thinking, and introduce elements of conflict and dissatisfaction in our ideal of distribution, dominated by spiritual and ethical standards, as opposed to mere economic ones in the competitive industry carried on in a lower plane of life. The Western ideal of social organisation, based on the rule of each for each and all for all, the mother respectively of its individualisms and its state socialisms, establishes in the name and guise of democracy an oligarchy of wealth and culture, a monopoly of material and intellectual possessions; and thus militates against the communal ideal of each for all and all for each, which alone can serve as the foundation of a true spiritual democracy that ensures the common use and inheritance of the earth and the sharing of the common moral and intellectual heritage of the race by every citizen and member of the community.

Economic Maladjustment in India.—Modern industry with its use of machinery, its mass production and its standardisation tends to produce a conflict of classes, de-rationalise the intelligence and demoralise the character of our slum-labourers. It disorganises our communal system of

industry and agriculture by an undue emphasis of anti-communal trade interests, unregulated by the characteristic needs of an agricultural people. It begins to get more and more of its converts from the deserted countryside, and more and more of its apostles among our city politicians and journalists. The new cult has its places of worship—the filthy, overcrowded, uninhabitable *bustis* where there are installed the three Devils, Drink, Disease and Destitution, and the gruesome and terrible sacrifices, the health and virtue of our men, the chastity and honour of our women, and the vigour and brightness of our children. It has its appropriate *mantra* in a conventional machine-education, with its standardisation, bookmongery, barrack-hostels, soul-killing examinations and certificates of devitalisation. This education, which is divorced from life and labour, creates an overplus of clerks, pleaders and politicians, as much slaves and victims to an artificial environment as the thousands of our factory-hands are to the factory and the slums. In the case of the labourers—poverty, disease, vice and crime—these are the evils of modern industry due to overcrowding and destruction of home. In the case of the intellectual classes, the congestion and crowding in the professions, due to their neglect of productive pursuits, have similar evils and social dangers: poverty, sterility of mind, palsy of heart, decline of birth-rate and physical degeneration. The Indian city, crudest imitation of the Western city, but more clerical than industrial—the tempting and poisoned fruit of all the foregoing—is daily sending to the village, by the outgoing trains, manufactures, and middlemen, grain-dealers and labour-dealers, and importing from it in return the agricultural wealth and the most virile and vigorous portion of the population, disorganising the village and leaving it as a deserted country of a demoralised and impoverished population.

Indian Economics in its Infancy.—Amidst these disquieting and regrettable forces, the regional economics of India, which has been groping after the peace and harmony of the communal order, is to-day only in its infancy. It is of all disciplines perhaps the most difficult and the most

complicated. It enables us to comprehend the living forces at work, the forces that make for progress or retrogression, and by so doing helps us to control, modify or mould these forces for attaining social progress. This communal ideal in Indian economics is the heir of the past ; it is the promise and guide of the future. Correctly conceived as such, carefully elaborated in detail and in theory, fearlessly developed, and increasingly applied in practice with missionary zeal and sacrifice, the regulative concept of communalism is the support of Indian civilisation, amidst the disintegrating forces of a crude industrialism, and has a new message of hope for Indians and for universal humanity.

Communalism has to fight to victory these forces of disintegration and destruction in order that India may be saved from the ugliness and immorality of an all-sufficient economism. The fight is difficult, because social reform, politics or education come from outside, and the intellectuals of the country have forgotten the life-values and tradition of the race. Meanwhile, the Indian nation of the fields and cottages, still organised on a communal basis, has remained true to its ideals. Nine-tenths of India have shunned alike the newspapers and politicians, forced on them from above with borrowed watchwords of " Progress " and secondhand messages of " Regeneration."

An Indian Renaissance.—But a great idealistic impulse now sweeps over the land. It is a national idealism ; it is also a constructive regional idealism that is catching every section of the people. The educated youth is aspiring to go and live unseen and unknown among the peasants, careless of fame and heedless of privations and sufferings, to study their hopes and fears, and to set on a task of renewal and reconstruction on the basis of actual experience and real fellowship with the people in their distress and sufferings, their ideals and aspirations. The intellect and the heart of India are turning back to labour and land ; the yield of a rich harvest of corn and of fresh flowers will not be long delayed.

Our literature is coming to catch a spirit of intense social revolt. Our novels are beginning to tackle social problems.

Our poetry breathes in an ethereal air of freedom. Our higher drama is seeking to achieve harmony out of conflicting ideals and modes of life. We have novelists who reveal the depths of poverty, and show the dignity and manliness of labour. We have poets who utter forth the joy of a rejuvenated life in the fulness of national passion and hope. We have some artists who are beginning to seek inspiration in scenes of common life and labour, the joys of peasants in the fields, and the destitution and degradation of workers in the factories. We have some musicians, too, whose songs are echoed and re-echoed in the streets of cities and village lanes, in the fields and shops—songs of joy and grief, hope and freedom. The village playwrights and musicians, itinerant minstrels and story-tellers, are catching inspiration from the new thought movements, and a new message, and a new faith, will soon be reaching the peasants' doors.

• **The Ideals that Pass.**—A hundred years ago in the West the keyword in social reconstruction was natural rights and in economics, *laissez-faire*. The doctrine of natural rights produced the French and perhaps the American Revolution, and was striven for with a devotion and sacrifice of the most ethical kind. And, in economics, the dominating conceptions were the belief in the supremacy of individual liberty, and the conviction that man's self-love is God's providence, so that the individual, in the pursuit of his own interest, is promoting the interest of society. The evils of capitalism and exploitation, wrought by the industrial revolution, coupled with the Darwinian philosophy of the struggle for existence, swept away the belief in the beneficence of self-interest and of God's providence. The state now appears as the providential guardian of the interests of the weak, and an anti-social individualism, fed on an immoral doctrine of individual rights, gives place to the conception of individual duties and rights of the state. To-day in the West the keyword in social reconstruction is "State," and in economics "Socialism." The state now is not something arbitrarily made; it does not arise by a contract between free individuals, as the eighteenth century theorists assumed. It has its foundations in the higher moral tendencies of man, and

is a sphere for the realisation of moral ideas. It aims at the regeneration of the labouring classes and the creation of a new industrial society by means of legislation and state control of economic activity.

The Communal Obligation.—In India to-day, as it was always in the past, the keyword in social reconstruction is *Dharma*, the ideal order supplying for man the code of perfectability in the relations of social life, even as the keyword in economics has been “communalism,” the regulative concept of economic values and obligations. The lever of social reconstruction is neither the paternalism of the state nor the liberty of the individual, but the voluntary co-operation of free and independent social groups realising through particular ends the harmonious promotion of a common cause. And that cause is the cause of *Dharma*, which in India stands for all that is permanent and universal in social types and human progress. In India every economic or social question is a question of communal obligation and service in the light of the imperative demand for each individual to realise the life universal, each from his station, without being untrue to the law of his own being. On the other hand, no movement stirs India which is not ethical and cosmic in this sense. Communalism is religion. It is obedience to the code of duty of the nation, true to the spiritual ideals and social traditions of the past, and as religion it is demanding to-day the sacrifice of all Indians, of intellectuals and labourers alike, for economic regeneration which will also be the regeneration of the spirit. For India, among all nations of the earth, sets before herself and before humanity the ideal of sanctified service, of worship in work, and of peace and harmony, born of a pious recognition of one's place in the long scheme of things; and so makes economic activity a part of religious sacrament.

B. THE COMMUNAL METHOD OF ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PERMANENT ELEMENTS IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY.

The Rural Commonalty.—The dominating spirit in the Indian economic organisation is the sense of a common good. In the village commonwealth each man feels that his daily work is a service to his kind, and that idleness and anti-social work are a disgrace. The spirit of mutual co-operation is so powerful that the practical arrangement for giving it effect has taken and is taking endless forms. Side by side with the archaic village community, there arise new communities streaked with some local peculiarities. English officers have expressed their surprise how a village, founded only seventy or eighty years ago, and composed often of congeries of individuals gathered from all quarters and having little previous connection, in the course of two or three decades has grown together into an organic body of very much the same type of the old village community with cultivators, ministers and dependents of all sorts, each occupying his own place and performing his characteristic duties as a member of the organism. An examination of these village communities should proceed by the genetic and comparative method.

Growth of Village Communities in India.—In the early settlement literature of the Panjab we find an interesting controversy regarding the non-existence and creation of the village communities. J. H. Morris, in his Memo. on the assessment of *tashsil*, Suraei Sidhoo (1859), remarked : "On the banks of the rivers, village communities are to be

found very often, either in the form of a brotherhood (*bhaia-chara*) or under the control of one or two proprietors (*zamindari*), but as we proceed inwards, this gradually disappears and we find each well-owner proprietor of his own land, but with nothing in common with the rest of his neighbours. In some instances a number of well-owners will live together for mutual protection and safety and thus form a village, but in the generality of cases each resides in his own well." Mr. H. Monckton, Settlement and District Officer, Jhung District, in the Multan Sub-Division, and Col. Hamilton, Commissioner, Multan Division, deprecated the introduction of the village system and the bugbear of joint-responsibility in the district where wells have been sunk with a convenient *arrondissement* of land by different families and races. Mr. R. N. Cust, Financial Commissioner, Panjab, however, was strongly in favour of the enforcement of joint responsibility, and urged that as in a child the characteristics, the distinguishing features and powers of the man were not fully developed—yet no one would deny that they were latent, and might be looked for—so it was with village communities and agricultural interests in rude, thinly populated and semi-pastoral districts. As order was established and wealth accumulated, self-interest and social habit would ultimately produce the same development. However discordant the elements, time and the common burden would cement them together, and one of the well-known types would develop itself, perhaps streaked by local peculiarities.

Along the rivers where population and cultivation have attained a degree of permanence, "common land" exists and regular communities. As we retire from the rivers and approach the *bar* or barren dorsal ridge, we lose all trace of these communities. Each well has its separate owner unconnected with its neighbour—often a separate hamlet or hut, with no common land, interests or homestead, no ties of race, religion or kindred. But this is just what we would expect: these people are the pioneers of civilisation, the squatters of the primeval forest. Gradually, however, the ramparts of a municipality will be formed round them: they occupy a defined village area and a joint property

in the jungle, to the exclusion of others. The owners of patches and wells are represented by headmen, the ties of fellowship and mutual advantage will draw them together ; the law of joint responsibility will bring with it the right of pre-emption. As cultivation, population and wealth extend, these infant communities will develop themselves on one of the well-known types—perhaps distinguishable by some local marks. Such has been the mode by which in the old settled tracts of the Gangetic valley the village community has come into existence and by an innate vitality has survived empires and dynasties.¹

Village System Attacked by Financial Interests.—

It is the spirit of mutual aid and co-operation that has welded together a haphazard congeries of individuals full of discordant and dissimilar elements into a well-knit, close and corporate body politic. This is the normal course of development. But conditions have sometimes been abnormal. A strong and oppressive government sometimes trespasses on property. Cultivators are located by the *kardar*, with leases guaranteed by *sanads* ; the fatal practice of the division of crops and appraisement is enforced ; the *jagirdar*, the curse of the land-owner, is let loose among the community.

In British times strangers are invited to the village community because they are capitalists and good guarantors of state revenue. The power of mortgage is stretched to an extent approaching sale, and rights of ownership created where they were more or less absent in the interests of the coparcenary community. The capitalist working on the land is the mainstay of the government, and he always wants to obtain something which can be sold and mortgaged, and descend by the ordinary law of inheritance, instead of what he regards as a mere shadow which can neither be transferred nor mortgaged, and only inherited under a narrow law of entail.

Thus the village system, already in existence, is attacked with a view of increasing the revenue.

¹ R. N. Cust, Financial Commissioner, quoted in E. D. Maclagan's *Gazetteer of the Mullan District*, p. 167.

Abnormal Conditions Affecting Village Types.—The marked features of the village system develop quickly amongst a dense and well-to-do population in a tract of a fair degree of fertility. An inhospitable physical environment, however, is unfavourable to the evolution of the normal type. In a sparsely populated region, where the pastoral tribes seem to contend with the agriculturist for possession, labour, capital and property jostle together, and the combinations are abnormal. The property or dominion of the soil is of little use, if there are no strong arms to till : the proprietor and the cultivator can do little if there is no capital forthcoming to sink the well, or supply the agricultural necessities. Each element must do its own duty, and receive its own benefit. Thus we find the rent charge paid to the capitalist, if property remains *in situ*, and has only to pay tribute to capital ; or the quit-rent, if capital has ousted property and doles out a miserable compensation for a lost inheritance. Or again we find property ousted by labour, and the man that is able to till the soil holding his own against the descendants of a hundred ancestors who cannot do so, and are content to take a quit-rent and give place to hardier industries. Again, we find the tenant, representing labour, possessed of privileges unbecoming his position, paying little or no rent, simply because the gross receipts leave no margin betwixt the expenses of cultivation and the revenue of the sovereign, and because labour is scarce.

The integrity of property is injured also by other causes. The law of inheritance, being a law of the person, has varied from village to village, or within the same village. Poverty has driven out numbers to seek their fortune or prevented them from discharging their duty though present. Thus possession has trodden down ancestral right, and time and exile appear at first to have worked manifest and irremediable injustice, until a higher view is taken of property, and it is understood that the man who cannot and will not use his right, ceases to possess it, and that the land-owner is in effect but an office-holder. Then, again, influential persons, descendants by the female line, or small capitalists, have in former times insinuated themselves, and their descendants

remain in a position only justified by possession, and inexplicable, till the cause of their presence is searched out. Physical or family causes also have led to variations: the change of a river course, the premature death of the head of a family, the number of the male issue, a battle or a raid or a crime or a speculation, may have turned property into a new channel, and altered the nature of the village community.

Strength of the Village Communal System.—However strong may be the forces of disintegration, peace and order tend to fight the disruptive tendencies. Wealth accumulates and property acquires value—self-interest and social habit, attachment to the soil and joint responsibility for the land-revenue, help to conserve the joint village and the rights of cultivators as co-proprietors of the village. the land is looked upon as belonging to a group of co-partners, the law of entail is established, and succession of the female relatives who are outsiders and strangers to an exogamous society is discountenanced as affecting the solidarity of the community. Capitalists as capitalists have little hold over the property. It is bad economics that says money-power can give right to land. In India it is agricultural capital of the agriculturist that purchases land. But this alone does not suffice. One must prove his sense of social solidarity before he can aspire to hold land in possession. One must be a member of the village community and as such a sharer in communal life and labour who can be entrusted with the possession of land. For such possession carries with it a great responsibility. A mere capitalist or trader will barter away the common agricultural interests of the community for personal gain. He is the powerful enemy of the community and of agriculture generally, and he is shunned by the village in the interests of self-preservation. If he occupies a plot of land, he pays a tax for the house-site to the village community. The village organisation, based on mutual responsibility, is the most effective system to protect agriculture from the disintegrating influences of money-power and trade interests. Contributions for repairing temples and other works of

religion and charity in the village are levied on holdings and ploughs. Fuel is gathered from common lands about the village and *busti* lands near the hills. In some districts in Bombay, for two generations after they arrive, a family of new-comers do not get the full rights of villagers. The co-partnership in property supplies the basis of mutual co-operation, protection and strength. It establishes and maintains the union of particular economic interests of the community centred in agriculture, which are too often threatened by trade and capitalism. Everywhere it is the selfish individualism of the trader and the capitalist that has disintegrated agriculture on a communal basis. Big farms and large estates as opposed to *petit* farming are transitional stages in the decline of agriculture under the free operation of forces of capitalistic and commercial individualism. In India it is the co-partnership in property and economic co-operation which have enabled the community to hold their ground amidst the crash of kingdoms in the past and the disintegrating operation of forces or individuals in the present.

Village Bonds of Union.—Many would think that the strength of the village community lies in the bond of blood relationship, and warn us that this is gradually disappearing. They urge that already the element which originally constituted the real bond of union, viz., that of actual kinship, is disappearing in the influx of strangers who have introduced themselves into the body of land-holders in most villages within the last few decades. In the village communities in India, as in Russia and elsewhere, the original notion of kinship, which may have been the foundation-stone of their earliest history, has given place in most instances to a more practical notion of common interest only, for which the land in some parts of which the inhabitants have built their homesteads, furnishes the real and all-sufficient basis. The earliest stage of *bhaiachara* villages did not exhibit land-tenure in any joint, communal or collective form beyond the limits of the family or household. Family severalty was the form in which land and its produce was actually used and enjoyed. It was political, agricultural and economic

conditions which necessitated personal union in villages, and not tribal feeling or a mere instinctive tendency to hold and cultivate large areas on a collective tenure. In certain tracts in India the cementing principle of village communities is neither kinship nor the conquest and possession of a common soil, but certain rights to common land and water which mark them off from neighbouring communities ; or, as is sometimes the case in frontier tracts, a common vendetta, the tradition of enmity or tribal raids against a common foe. It is not always that the agnatic relationship is the bond ; there is a fiction of kinship induced by the possession of a common totem or eponym. This is true of most of the aboriginal tribes. In the Dravidian village communities, though kinship might have been the original tie, this in many cases has been superimposed by an elaborate machinery of agrarian settlement and partition to suit the common interests of cultivation. It is not the tie of actual blood relationship which necessarily gives the rights of membership in any given village community, but the fact of actual association in that which constitutes its home and centre of activity, viz., the ownership of land. The common interest, therefore, which attaches to this home, tends also to produce common customs regulating the devolution and transfer of individual rights in land throughout the community, irrespectively of the religion or class to which its various members may belong. And it is this common interest attached to home and the land, the common centre and basis of all economic activities, that protects the community from the disruptive tendencies of an immoral individualism, and devises endless varieties of co-operative agricultural and industrial activity for common defence and progress.

Communalism as Progressive as Individualism.—

It is not true that the progress of societies has been restricted only to the individualistic type of organisation. There is a good deal of misconception about this in the West, which regards progress as monopolised by individualistic types of manhood and social organisation. Society on a communal basis in the East is as progressive as Western society

where individualism has triumphed and ultimately trampled upon communal rights and well-being, and it is only the prejudice of Western sociologists that ascribes the primeval origin of social life to a communistic and collectivistic instinct, but holds that the capacity for progressive development in communal institutions has long been exhausted and arrested, and that degeneration marks all latter-day experiments in constructive communalism. Communalism in the East has conserved vital values and is even now a constructive principle of economic organisation. There is as much progress in our village settlements and in our rural colonisation as in the settlements and colonisations in the backwoods of America or capitalistic exploitation in undeveloped regions on an individualistic basis.

CHAPTER X.

AGRICULTURE ON A COMMUNAL BASIS.

Co-operation in the Village.—The Indian village supplies illustrations of some of the remarkable co-operative enterprises of the world. Everywhere there are remarkable instances of the ability of the villagers to unite for common objects. The villagers unite to dig and clean out their water-courses, and turn out together to protect their rice-embankments from floods. In a dry tract they unite to deepen the pond of the village. Sometimes each household supplies a man in turn every morning whose duty it is to dig clay from the bottom of the pond and put it into baskets ; and each housewife, before she takes away her supply of water for the day, must first carry out two basket-loads of earth, and throw them on the bank some distance off. Or sometimes the village combines and works for a time at deepening the pond, or subscribes to pay other labourers to enlarge it. The village also combines to dig *kachha* wells, and to work them for the village cattle, and often a large number of families combine to make a *pakka* well costing much labour and a large sum of money. The whole village sometimes unites to dig the village ditch, to repair the village hedge, to build the *dharmshala* or to put on a new gate on the entrance to the village. Instances are also known of a large number of villages combining, under official direction, to dig a long inundation canal. The system of combining labour bears a close resemblance to the forms of co-operative enterprise that obtain in countries like Italy, Switzerland and France.

In a village nearly twenty miles from Lahore I found several cultivators joining their lands for field work. One

had forty *bighas*¹ of land and the others thirty *bighas* each. They divided the produce in equal shares, and one of them gave Rs. 3-12-0 as rent for ten extra *bighas* of land.

Methods of Agricultural Co-operation.—Agriculture is often conducted by means of *lanas*; in the Panjab, which are associations of households or individuals, each contributing oxen or labour, or both, the whole *lana* working jointly, and cultivating certain lands of which some of the members of the association have the disposal, whether as owners or tenants.

Where the depth of water necessitates a large staff of bullocks, the *lana* often includes seven or eight ploughs of two oxen each; in other places, more often three or four. The sharers are called *saji* (*saja*, a share); if a man contributes one plough he is called *ek hal ka saji*; if a half-plough, *kachwa ka saji*, from *kachwa*, the space in the yoke occupied by the neck of one bullock; if only his personal labour, *ji ka saji*, or sharer of his person. This last class never contribute land, and are generally *chamars*; while a man who contributes land is seldom or never *ji ka saji*. If a woman, not of the family of any of the landed shares, is admitted, she is called *khurpi ka saji*, or a sharer of a hoe, and takes half of the share of a *ji ka saji*.

The distribution of the proceeds and the payment of revenue is conducted on different methods. In all cases, the whole of the produce is thrown together without regard to the yield of individual fields. In one method, the whole number of heads (*aug*) in the *lana* are counted. The whole of the fodder and the price of all iron used in the cultivation are divided over the oxen equally. The grain is collected, the seed-grain repaid to the *banya* with interest, and the dues of the *chamars* and the religious offerings are deducted. One-fourth of the remainder is then separated as *hakimi hissah*, or the share of the ruler; and this is divided among the people who contributed the land in proportion to the area contributed by each, and these people pay each the revenue due on his own land. The remainder is then divided among the heads of oxen and men; an ox generally taking

¹ *Bigha* = $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre.

twice the share of a man among the Rajputs, because the owners provide most of the cattle, while many of them are non-proprietors; and also in the villages, where the irrigation is extensive, because the cattle there have such hard work. For this latter reason an ox sometimes takes twice as much as a man in the spring, and only as much in the autumn harvest when there is no irrigation. In other villages, oxen and men share equally. In all cases the costs of cultivation, except the iron, are divided on the same shares. The system has a curious resemblance to that described by Maine as obtaining in ancient Ireland.

In another method of distribution the accounts of the *lana*, which is also called *ratha*, are kept by ploughs, each sharer contributing a certain number of half-ploughs. To make up the number of men required for his oxen, a sharer will often take a *ji ka saji* into partnership; but in this case the latter claims from the sharer only, and not from the *lana* as a whole, in which he is only recognised as a man attached to one of the ploughs. The whole costs and proceeds of cultivation, and the revenue due on the whole of the land, are divided equally over the ploughs (without any regard to the area of land contributed by each plough). This sort of *lana* is also called *basira*. The *ji ka saji* in this case takes from the man who engaged him one-fourth—or, if there are already two able-bodied men on the plough, one-fifth—of the produce allotted to one plough and pays the same proportion of the revenue, the division being by heads, and men and oxen sharing equally. He receives no share of the fodder and pays no share of the cost of the iron or seed. Under this system the *ji ka saji* is entitled to an advance of some Rs.20 to 25 free of interest, and further advances at discretion at reasonable rates from his employer. Here is an instance of an incipient form of indigenous co-operative credit. Among the Jats the women of the family are often counted as sharers, whereas the *ji ka saji*'s wife is not.

Another kind of *lana* is formed for the express purpose of cutting and pressing sugar-cane. The cane is grown in the ordinary manner; but after *Diwali*, when the cutting

time has come, the growers combine and form a *kolhoo ka lana*, or sugar-mill association, which will consist of ten or twelve ploughs and is worked as follows : Each member of the co-operative body (whether an individual or an ordinary *lana*) contributes oxen and grown men in equal numbers strictly in proportion to the area each has under cane, and women and children as near as may be begin to press the cane cut during the day in the evening of the same day, and it generally occupies the press till the evening of the next day. If it takes a little more or less time, the excess or defect is marked by a pat of dung on a rough sun-dial made by a peg struck into the ground, and is allowed for when the same man's turn comes round again. Each man takes the *gur* made from his own cane, and pays the daily expenses of his days. The common expenses, such as hire of evaporating pan, making of press, etc., are distributed in proportion to the number of days the cane of each has taken to press.

This is the ordinary system. But the people find that the crowd collected to cut the cane eat and spoil so much that a new system is sometimes adopted. In this each sharer cuts his own cane. He starts his bullocks and presses his cane till one or two *kundis* of juice, as may have been previously agreed upon, have been expressed. He then makes way for another man with his cane and bullocks, and so on. When all his cane is crushed, he takes away his bullocks, and falls out of the rota. Every morning the *gur* which has been made during the past twenty-four hours and the current expenses are divided in proportion to the number of *kundis* of juice contributed by each.

Dangara is the name of a system by which two or more owners club their cattle together, either for the year or for a special job. The united cattle work for each in proportion to the number of oxen contributed and the partners have no further claim upon one another, each keeping his land and its produce and revenue distinct.¹

Co-operative Employment of Labour.—In the organisation of labour of the village artisans, the village watch and

¹ I am indebted for the above account of agricultural enterprises to Ibbetson's *Karnal Settlement Report*.

ward, irrigation men and employers of day labourers, and other common servants of the agriculturists, without whom agriculture would be at a standstill, we find a co-operative employment of labour which has a modern counterpart in various forms of co-operative enterprise in the European countries. The agriculturists divide the *kamins* into two classes—those whose labour is intimately connected with agriculture, viz., the blacksmith, the carpenter and *chamar*, and those whose services are rendered in other ways and less regularly, viz., the weaver, potter, barber, waterman, washerman and sweeper ; whom they call house-servants—*khangî kamin*. The number of *kamins* is an index of the wealth of the village, and nothing is thought to be so effective an assertion of the poverty of the village as to say that the *kamins* have left it. The services of all these *kamins* are at the disposal of every villager, except those of the *chamars*. These *chamars* are generally attached to one owner, or to a few families, and are not at the disposal of every one : this connection cannot be broken till the crops of the current year have been housed, but it can then be terminated from either side.

The *khoji* (tracker of lost cattle), the *wagi* (cow-herd), the *chhem* (buffalo-herd), the *muhsarîl* or *thapi* (watchman of cut crops), the *shikari* or hunter and the *dharwai* who weighs grain, render important aids to every agriculturist and are employed, as the other *kamins*, by the whole village acting as a co-operative employing association, or undertaker of labour.

Throughout the south, each village employs such common servants as the watcher of crops, the irrigation man and the employer of day labourers, each being paid a share of grain by each cultivator at each harvest ; for instance, the irrigation man called the *neerghunti* or *madayan* enjoys *maniyams*, and also gets a few measures of grain during each harvest from the villagers. He is in charge of the sluices and regulates the flow of water to the lands of each cultivator. The *kavalgar* is the watchman. He watches crops in the field and the paddy in the threshing-floor till the paddy is brought to individual houses. Whatever agri-

cultural implements are left in the field, he takes charge of both for Brahmans and for Sudras. In a village in Trichinopoly, I find him receiving the following dues from each cultivator :

After harvest is reaped, he is given $9\frac{3}{8}$ Madras measures for every acre of land, if the paddy is removed on the same day. If not removed immediately, he claims $12\frac{1}{2}$ Madras measures. He guards not merely crops, but also cocoanut trees. For every cocoanut tree he is paid Rs.6 a year. For every acre of plantain Rs.5 a year. For onion per acre Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$. He also receives 1 kalam of rice from each Brahman house for his night patrolling in the *agraharam*.

The *pannagar* controls day labourers, who are engaged in channel digging, and he is assisted by the *kavalgars* in guarding cattle and crops ; he takes 30 Madras measures for every 40 kalams from each cultivator.

In Malabar the *thandan* is an agricultural servant, who crops cocoanuts. For two trees he climbs he is paid one cocoanut, and for a hundred trees 6 annas.

Common Land and Common Rights.—The village common land is a visible symbol of the co-operative action of the villagers. In Southern India the proceeds of the communal lands or from the annual sale by auction of the right to the fishery of the tank and the produce from trees owned by the village are spent, as we shall see, for common purposes, such as the maintenance and repair of irrigation channels, the upkeep of the village temple, the provision for recreation, etc. A large proportion of villages have also a considerable area of pasture land, and it is usual to send out all the unemployed cattle of the village daily under the charge of a cow-herd to graze on the village common. The cow-herd is generally allowed to take the milk of each cow, buffalo, sheep or goat every sixth or seventh day.

Sometimes the villagers themselves take it in turns (*bari*) to herd the cattle of the whole village. In most villages small grazing fees are charged. But in some villages, where the area of uncultivated land is comparatively small, the cattle of residents are exempted from paying such fees. All residents without restriction can send any cattle they

have to graze on the uncultivated land. For a few days after the crop has been cut, the cultivator of the field is allowed to appropriate whatever grazing there is left on it, and then the cultivated fields also are thrown open to the cattle of the whole village for grazing. Cultivators have ordinarily a right to cut wood needed for agricultural implements and *pala* and grass from the common lands, except in villages where they are very limited in extent, and insufficient for the needs of the owners.

All inhabitants of the Panjab village have a right not only to graze a reasonable number of cattle, their own property, on payment of the recognised dues, but also to collect dry wood for burning, to cut such bushes and grass for thatching or ropes as they need for use in their house and cattle-yards, or to dig mud for bricks, etc., from the village tank. But a small cess for every axe or bill-hook is often taken from non-cultivators. Trees on roadsides, ponds, wells and on common land about the village site are the common property of the whole village, and there is a general rule against cutting down any such tree so long as it lives and gives shade. When it withers up and falls, its wood is sometimes appropriated by the whole village and is generally devoted to some *common* purpose, e.g., repairing the village gate, well, mosque or temple, or deepening the village pond. In some villages a small portion of the common land is set apart, and some individual is allowed to fence in a portion and plant trees, which are specially tended by him for the common good of the village.

The manure of the cultivators is used by them in their own fields; but they cannot sell it out of the village. That of the non-cultivators is the joint property of the village; or, if the homestead is divided by wards, of the owners of the wards in which they live. It is kept in great joint-stock heaps, and divided by the owners according to ploughs.

Bengal.—In Bengal we find among others the following characteristic methods of agricultural co-operation: (1) The *ganta* system. Under this system, a number of farmers (each of whom possesses the requisite land and

capital) are pledged to till, mow and reap all the fields *collectively*, so that, as soon as the rains descend, they are able to prepare their harvests very quickly and thus ensure good crops for the year. (2) The *langala-hala* or plough-borrowing system. A farmer who has his own plot of land but cannot afford to buy bullocks and a plough, borrows them from one of his neighbours, and in exchange offers his services in cultivating his partners' fields. (3) The *lagar* or labour system. Those farmers who possess neither land nor capital are employed as agricultural labourers on a salary of Rs.35 to 45, sometimes even Rs.60 to 70 per annum. In addition to this, they get from their employers a little plot of land—one *bigha*, or a *bigha* and a half—to cultivate independently, and a fixed share of the produce belongs to them. They also receive their dinner on working days, and clothing, napkin, etc., on occasions of a festival or a marriage in the employer's household.

Southern India.—In Southern India the forms of agricultural co-operation are no less varied and numerous. The most tangible relic of the old corporate existence is the common fund, which practically every village possesses. This is formed from the sale-proceeds of the fruit-trees on the village site held on *samudayam patta*, of the fish in the village tanks and of the thatching-grass which grows on the foreshores of these. It is divided into certain shares, the number of which is supposed to have had its origin in the number of *nattamgars* in existence in the days of old, and these are now sub-divided among the *nattamgars'* descendants, and are bought, sold and mortgaged as any other property. The village headman, or one or two of the bigger *ryots*, manage the fund, and part of it is spent on communal purposes, such as petty repairs to tanks and drinking-water ponds, festivals at the village temple, payments for dramatic performances and alms to beggars. The maintenance and repair of irrigation channels out of these communal funds are also to be met with throughout the south. Communal labour is also very often employed, each acre of land contributing a certain quota of labour for repairing tanks or irrigation channels. When virgin lands are to be reclaimed,

a large number of cultivators join, and they divide the shares according to the capital or labour supplied by each in conformity to the agreement. The right of gathering tamarind from the trees of villages is often purchased by a villager on behalf of the whole village from the *taluk* board. Shares and contributions are collected, and, after meeting the purchase-money, the surplus goes to the village watchman, or is spent on communal purposes. Tamarind is divided among the villagers according to the share-money or labour contributed; such shares are transferable. In plantain, chili or brinjal cultivation, the lease-money is often raised by individual subscription, and the irrigation channels are repaired and maintained by common labour. The profits are divided according to the proportions contributed by each cultivator as lease-money and agricultural capital. In cases where capital is not advanced, a share is given to labour alone. The best instance of this mode of co-operation is, however, to be found in betel cultivation. The lease-money is here always jointly paid and divided in proportion to the extent of land and the number of betel plants which each cultivator looks after. The distributory channels and ditches leading to the betel fields are maintained and repaired in common. Sheep-dung manure, which is considered very useful and costly, is always purchased in common, and the manure is distributed according to the number of creepers. But this manuring process is done by all the cultivators working together. The *addipu* or the surrounding screen which keeps off cold blasts, is maintained and repaired in common for the whole field. Each man's crop is individual; but certain services on which they depend upon one another and on which the whole field depends for its success in crop-raising are divided in proportion to the extent of blocks and the number of creepers. Betel requires individual attention, and hence the profits and losses are not shared in common, but in maintaining the irrigation channels, in watering and in manuring, etc. Each block supplies labour and capital in proportion to the benefits it enjoys from agricultural partnership.

In Travancore, in the *kunja* lands, i.e., those covered with

water throughout the year, cultivation is set on foot by making *bunds* by the sides of rivers and canals with sticky clay which is removed from the bed of the river, or with bamboo pegs fitted in cocoanut trees. These common *bunds* very often enclose areas extending over five or six thousand acres. These paddy lands touch a large number of villages. The use of the steam-engine has been introduced only recently to bale out water. Before its advent, the water was baled out either by the baskets or by the working of Persian wheels, and a large number of villagers combined for this. The owner of the engine and the cultivators now enter into an agreement to bale out water at so many rupees per acre. Sometimes on these wet lands, enclosed by *bunds* on all sides, cultivation also is in common. Ploughing also commences from one end of the paddy-field by the co-operation of all cultivators, so that each cultivator's block is ploughed in the long run by common labour. This also applies to hill-cultivation of paddy on dry lands. The hay is stacked by all cultivators working together, and sweets are distributed when the work is finished. The removal of weeds, harvesting, as well as breaching the bars during monsoons, in order to prevent inundation, are sometimes done in common. A portion of the paddy-field is occasionally set apart for banana cultivation. Each villager has one ridge for himself, and the village collectively employ the *kavalgar*, whom they pay one branch for ten banana plants. The bunches are divided thus: One for the landowner; nine for the labourer; one for the watcher. Fencing is done by common labour, the labour being divided in proportion to the area of land cultivated by each individual.

We conclude with the description of the characteristic irrigation associations called the *sethis*, which are to be met with in the southern districts of Madras. Villages are divided according to the number of tanks for irrigation purposes, and each of these divisions is managed by a *sethi*. All the cultivators whose lands are irrigated by the particular tank or tanks of the ward are members of the *sethi*. The *sethi*, under the leadership of the headman called *karaiswan*, regularly meets to arrange for the repair and maintenance of

the tanks under its particular jurisdiction. When the funds of the *sethis* are deficient, other *sethis* give them loans or contributions, and there is often found a good deal of co-operation among these different irrigation associations of a cluster of villages, which renders smooth work of the irrigation of lands under their *ayacut*.

Western Co-operative Ideals Realised in India.—

Bearing in mind the fundamental postulate of economic regionalism that economic reconstruction in the future can only be successful and life-maintaining by utilising the accumulated force of environment, instinct and tradition, the lines of development are easy to decide. The union of economic interests sought to be realised through the rural commonalty, the co-operative enterprise of villagers combining to dig wells, or even long inundation canals, the agricultural operations by means of co-operative associations variously termed *basiras*, *rathas*, *sethis* or *lanas*, and the co-operative division of crops, the communal organisation of agricultural and industrial labour, and the provision and use of the common land for the collective good of the village—all this expresses some of the highest ideals of agricultural and industrial co-operation in the West actually realised in our economic life. In certain lines co-operation has been practised where the efficiency of its methods and the nobility of its ideals will be models for the West ; while such successful forms of co-operation of the West as co-operative credit, co-operative purchase and sale, co-operative dairying, co-operative presses, will easily and profitably be assimilated into the organisation of the village commonwealth, where the communistic and collectivistic instincts are much stronger than in the West. In the combination of the villagers for the satisfaction of their common needs by the employment of artisans and labourers, we find the ideals of co-operative consumption and collectivistic production working in our social organisation. Co-operative credit also exists in a primary and incipient form ; for in the *lana* the distribution of the share of the produce according to heads of oxen implies that the working capital (oxen, hoes, ploughs, etc.) is advanced on the expectation of the realisable

assets of the co-operative enterprise. The *nidhi*, as we shall see, still survives in the Madras Presidency as an interesting institution of agricultural credit on a communal basis, while caste *punchayets* among the Dravidian communities serve to some extent as mutual loan associations. A more complex economic life, with the introduction of scientific processes and agricultural machinery, and the growth of larger trade and commercial interests, will naturally be accompanied by the evolution of more complex forms of co-operative credit, co-operative purchase, and sale from such primary and vital structures as are already existing. The instincts are there, vital and life-maintaining; the standards are there, perhaps instinctive and incipient: it is these that have to be reconstituted into policies and ideals by the adoption of the methods of Western scientific organisation of agriculture and industry.

CHAPTER XI.

THE VILLAGE COMMONWEALTH.

Study of Rural Economy.—We have seen that, amongst the village peasants, the bond of blood-relationship, social co-operation or common economic interests ensures agricultural co-operation, examples of which are very common. In the same way the organisation of industry, agricultural labour and handicraft production on a communal basis in the village community of India represents the essential features of co-operative production in the West. The exact nature of the services required of functionaries, artisans and labourers, and their number, are determined and regulated according to the needs of the village community. The study of rural economy in India hitherto has been of a purely descriptive character, and has missed the scientific aspect for want of a proper classification of types and forms, followed by investigation into their originating physiological and social conditions and causes which alone can reduce a heterogeneous mass of particular observations to a scientific order and system. With such an end in view, we must seek to discover natural divisions of type and organisation, not merely in regard to land-revenue and land-settlement, which has had to be undertaken for practical administrative purposes, but also and principally as regards the form of the village organisation, its constituent members and their varying relations as a problem in economic morphology, of which the revenue-system forms only a single determinant.

Governing Conditions.—If we analyse the structure of the rural economic organisation we find three sets of governing conditions. First in order of origin, as well as of significance, come the physiographical and social needs and

wants of the region which must impart a definite character to the *organisation* by fixing the nature of the services and thereby the *ensemble* of functionaries constituting a typical village unit of the region. The relative status of the different functionaries will be determined in great part by the relative importance of the economic services they render. But this is sometimes modified or disturbed by the influence of a second factor, viz., the traditional social hierarchy, going back often to ethnic origins. Social traditions give rise to a scheme of social values which are reflected in the *gradation* of services and functionaries, and which lead to the formation of a village *hierarchy*. Lastly, the system of land-tenure obtaining under the prevailing scheme of land-settlement and administration is the political factor, which, if it is consonant with the economic and social conditions just noticed, proves a constructive force by co-ordinating the diverse interests and classes ; while, if it is divergent from the needs, and traditions of the region, it may prove a *disintegrating* agency to the destruction of the healthy texture of economic life.

We now proceed to a consideration of these three sets of conditions and the resulting differences of village type and structure ; and we shall take these in the reverse order, since the political factor has proved to be so disturbing that it has obscured the other specific features and traits. From the effects of land-settlement and administration which we shall take up first, we shall proceed to the gradation of other village services in the village hierarchy, and thence to the physiographical and social needs and requirements.

Land-Tenure.—In considering the land-tenure, we direct our attention to the position of the headman in relation to the system of land-revenue administration which is a determining factor of the Indian village economy in one important direction. In the case of the *zamindari* or landlord system of Bengal and the United Provinces, the chief men of the village will necessarily be the *zamindars* (or their subordinates) with whom the settlement is made and who are responsible to government for the payment of the land-

revenue. In the *ryotwari* village, which is probably of the most ancient type and which owes its original existence to settlement by some tribe or clan which already possessed a leader, the headman, who is such a leader, is recognised by the state and is taken into its service as an intermediary between itself and the villages, and made hereditary. The *ryotwari* village is the prevalent form in Madras and Bombay. Here the *zamindar* is non-existent, except in the case of a few isolated tenures, and it is the villager with whom the settlement is made and who is responsible for the land-revenue.

There is again a third type of village—the joint village, where there is no longer a body of cultivators each of whom has his own independent rights. Some of the villagers claim the ownership not merely of the fields they cultivate but of the whole of the village lands. The body of owners who thus still hold together and have a certain joint interest in the village, arises in various ways: (1) The prior existence of a territorial chiefship; (2) the development from the position of a farmer of revenue; (3) usurpation in a time of disorder; (4) the colonisation by individual and clan-groups; and (5) communistic ownership of land. The management of the affairs of the joint body is properly by a committee of heads of houses, or *punchayet*. The joint village does not possess a recognised headman. Latterly the government has found it necessary to institute a *species* of headman for these villages also, but such men are merely representatives of the joint proprietors in their dealings with the government. He is called *lambardar* (holder of a number) and his office is allowed to be in some degree elective. The joint village is the prevalent form in the United Provinces, the Panjab, and the frontier province. Remembering the three district types of villages, we can at once indicate the relative importance of the functions of the headman in different parts of India:

- I. The village under the permanent settlement in Bengal and in parts of Bihar and Orissa; in Oudh, the United and the Central Provinces.

The village headman, *mukhya*, *mandal* or *pradhan* is often a mere creature of the *zamindar*.

- II. The *ryotwari* village in Madras and Bombay. The great change in the revenue management, under which the amount of each cultivator's payment was fixed by government officers and not left to be adjusted by the community, lowered the position and authority of the headman. He has now become a servant of the state and is paid for his services in cash and land. In Madras the village headman, *munsif* or *manigar*, and the village accountant, *karnam* or *kanakapillai*, still retain their hereditary dignity and rights, and often their rent-free plots of land (*maniyam*), or are paid a fixed salary by government. The headman still holds a high position in the village, and as the social head he leads all social and religious festivals, and has precedence in all domestic ceremonies of the villagers. The hereditary *patel* is found in all the different divisions of the Bombay Presidency, but the *kulkarni* or *talati* for historical reasons only in the Deccan and Southern Maratha country and not in Gujrat or the Konkan. The sources of income were (1) land, for the most part exempt from rent, (2) direct levies in cash and kind from the *ryots*, or compensation in lieu thereof, (3) cash payments from the government treasury. Their salary is fixed by a scale with reference to the gross revenue of the village.
- III. The joint village—the Panjab and the United Provinces. The *lambardar* (headman) and the *patwari* (accountant) are not so strong in position and sometimes have too little influence. There are sometimes too many *lambardars*, one for each section; the *patwari* is usually appointed not to a single village, but to a circle of villages.

Hierarchy of Services—(1) Economic.—Turning to the other sets of factors, the economic and the social, we proceed to indicate the influence of economic needs as shaped by agricultural conditions and general social wants of the people, on the organisation of village services, as well as the influence of social traditions and values on their gradation and hierarchy. The general conditions which attract a

group of permanent artisans and labourers to the village community are the same in the different types of villages, even as the *punchayet* is no longer a special feature of the joint village but universal in all parts of India. But, as we have seen, new functionaries and labourers appear as a result of economic needs and social or religious necessities. It would have been a very interesting study to estimate the relative importance of village functions or occupations as adapted to the needs and capabilities of different regions, but sufficient data are not at hand. But certain conclusions relating to the gradation of services and the village hierarchy are clearly derivable from a comparative survey of different village types in the different provinces.

Throughout India the apportionment of the blacksmith and the carpenter, the two most important employees of the village community, is nearly the same and is greater than the dues of the barber and the washerman, who follow in the order of their social rank. Then come the village scavengers and messengers, who occupy the lowest rung in the economic ladder.

THE PANJAB

Carpenter	{	Dues at harvest averaging about 1 seer per maund of produce, or 30 to 50 seers per annum per plough and a sheaf.
Blacksmith		
Barber	{	The barber's perquisites in grain are rather less than those of the carpenter, but he receives considerable sums of money on occasions of marriage or death. The washerman's dues are equivalent to about half a seer per maund. Then there are the <i>chuhra</i> s and <i>dhanaks</i> , who are both on a level at the bottom of the village social scale. They are chiefly employed as the village <i>dauras</i> or messengers, whose duty it is to show the road to travellers, to summon the villagers together when required, and to carry messages and letters. Their dues amount to about half a seer per maund.
Washerman		
<i>Chuhra</i>		

128 PRINCIPLES OF COMPARATIVE ECONOMICS.

MADRAS

Carpenter } 9 to 12 Madras measures per plough for
 Blacksmith } making and repairing a plough.
 Barber }
 Washerman } 3 Madras measures for 40 kalamas.
 The *tothi*, the *talari* and the *vatiyan* correspond more or less to the *chuhra* of the North and the *mahar* of West and Central India, and they are paid 5 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ Madras measures at each harvest.

BIHAR

Blacksmith } 5 to 10 dhurs each per bigha, or 1-20th in
 Carpenter } all.
 Watchman }
 Barber } 3 to 4 dhurs of land per each adult member
 Washerman } or customer.

BENGAL

Blacksmith .. 30 seers of grain per plough.
 Carpenter .. 15 to 20 seers of grain for each plough at harvest time.
 Barber } 5 to 10 seers of grain annually for each
 Washerman } family they serve.
 Cobbler .. right to the skins.

ORISSA

Carpenter }
 Blacksmith } 5 gaunis per plough.
 Barber }
 Washerman } 3 to 5 gaunis for each married person or customer.

BOMBAY

	Grain in pounds.	Bundles of <i>jowar</i> fodder.
Watchman } Carpenter } Barber }	1,920	1,000
Shoemaker ..	960	500
Ferryman } <i>Mahar</i> }	480	250
Rope-maker } Butcher }	240	125

BOMBAY—(continued)

	Grain in pounds.	Bundles of <i>jowar</i> fodder.
Washerman	120	60
Priest		
Water-carrier		
Goldsmith ..	60	30

CENTRAL PROVINCES

The *batutedars* continue to draw their customary *haks* at harvest, though the officials think they have no legal claim to do so. The rights of one class alone, the *mahars*, are protected by a special summary procedure in the revenue courts, and in fact part of their ordinary remuneration is not secured by any legal remedy.

Lohar and *barhai*, or blacksmith and carpenter, are each paid 6 small kuros or 90 lbs. of unhusked rice annually.

Washerman and barber, 75 to 90 lbs. of unhusked rice.

Mahar, 1 to 3 seers per acre.

The family priest receives *haks*, but, of course, occupies a much more distinguished position.

In South and Central India village watchmen are the rule, playing the part of the private police. In Bengal and Bihar the peasant does not generally have a watchman, but guards the crops himself, or deputes a regular servant to do so. In the southern districts of Madras the *kavalgar* or village watch and ward, and in Cochin and Malabar the *thandan* or the cocoanut guard, become very important, and their remuneration is approximate to that of the carpenter and the blacksmith. Where the irrigation man is necessary in the rural economy, due to physiographical necessity, his remuneration—whether he is the *necrghunti* in Mysore, the *niranikan* in Central Madras or the *madayan* in the south—is never below that of the first-class artisans. It is only in the dry regions of the Panjab that among the village servants the water-carrier is to be met with. He supplies water to the household and carries food to the men working in the fields. He does not usually get a fixed share of the produce, but is paid, like the potter, the barber and the washerman, according to the work done.

Hierarchy of Services—(2) Traditional.—Hitherto we have emphasised only the organisation of services and their relative gradation and status so far as these are due to economic needs and wants, whether physiographical or social. We shall now proceed to indicate the force of traditional and customary social values in determining social rank or gradation, which may operate sometimes in harmony with existing economic needs and sometimes in an opposite direction, though originally these traditional values themselves may have arisen out of regional needs in other ages and other historical environments.

In the Christian village communities, for instance, in addition to the necessary village artisans and labourers, there is to be found a hierarchy of church functionaries whose status is the result of the social values of the Christian scheme of life. It is very interesting to observe that in Southern India the office-holders of the ancient village communal system have been utilised by the authorities of the church for conducting the temporal affairs of the church after entrusting the church and its properties to their servant under the designation of *koil pillai*. The functionaries in connection with the church are selected by the village assembly on the principle of hereditary rights, and are taken into the service of the church only on approval by the parish priest. Among them the *manigar* sees that the dues to the church which could not be collected by the *koil pillai* are paid by the villagers concerned. Such collection of dues is also the duty of the *manigar* in the indigenous village communal system. The *periathanakaran* is also an office-holder in the indigenous system to whom the disputes in the village are referred for decision, and the transgressions of the village rules for punishment. The church authorities have utilised the services of this functionary for the same purposes in connection with the management of the church, in addition to giving him the honour of carrying the most important image in the church, viz., that of the Blessed Virgin, to the car for procession during the important festivals of the church. He acts as the mediator between the parish priest and the villagers whenever any disputes arise. He convenes

meetings of the village assembly, and advises the parish priest in connection with appointments and other affairs in connection with the management of the church, and it is through his influence that the surplus of funds collected for the repair of the village tank, and the fines levied from the villagers for transgression of the village rules and observances, are secured as a source of income for the church.

In the Dravidian village communities, the organisation of religious and educational services on the basis of segregation has led to a multiplication of functionaries, even as the superimposition of the governmental machinery of administration has led to a reduplication of the village police and magistracy, and in these cases it is more the social scheme than the actual economic need that is responsible for the want of concentration of social effort and the economic caste therein involved. In the Nair country the military and feudal régime has left its former exponents and representatives in the Thandans, who have more or less outgrown their original uses, but not their privileges and status, even as in the Maratha country the Bhils, Pasaitas, the Kolis, the Deshmukhas and Deshpandes and the boundary watchmen are vestiges of the older military organisation. The priest, who is to be found everywhere in all the different village types as the spiritual guardian, the *bhu-devata*, with his endowment of land or share in harvest, is the product of extra-economic values of life which are of exceptional strength and pervasiveness in the psychology of the Indian folk. Similarly the astrologer, the medicine man, the sacrificial priest, the exorcist are representatives of the forces of magic, and fetishism, of shamanism and animism, which are embedded in the deeper strata of all tribes and peoples. On the other hand the village scavenger, the butcher, the toddy-drawer, the distiller of spirits, the tanner, the leather-dresser and the washerman are generally assigned a low social position, and this social gradation is equally the outcome of extra-economic valuation, and it may be interesting to inquire how far the traditional gradation of occupations in the *Smritis* may be found to be in agreement with the facts of the Indian village economy.

The strolling acrobats and jugglers, as well as village playwrights, bards, minstrels, reciters of the epics, and genealogists who cater to social recreations and amusements and are in great requisition at religious or other festivals, are regarded with amused tolerance and charity, and have a corresponding eleemosynary share. The erotic accompaniments of the ethnic religions that have universally created bands of female religious ministrants and attendants, virgins, *devadasis*, *basvis*, etc., grouped round temples and shrines, have assumed a peculiar form in the conditions of South Indian society, under which social vice has entered into league with æsthetic and religious emotion. As guardians of the dance and devotional music, these *devadasis* form a semi-religious female priesthood, and their social status is an anomaly, constituting as they do an honoured social outlawry which resembles in some respects the position of the Athenian Hetiæræ and is far removed from the social slavery of the white slaves and legalised courtesans of modern cities.

Hierarchy of Services—(3) Mixed.—Before we conclude these general observations it would be interesting to note certain crucial instances in which there is a conflict between the traditional social values on the one hand and the economic needs on the other, leading to a divergence between the social status or rank of a caste, guild or occupation, and the share of the communal produce appropriated by it. The irrigation man and the village watch and ward often get a remuneration not below that of the highest class of artisans, but their social rank is much lower. Similarly the *mahars* and the *talaris* are sometimes entrusted with important economic functions, and also receive corresponding shares in grain, but are degraded in social rank. The *vatiyans* of Madras and the *chamars* of the Panjab, besides their function as artisans, perform a very considerable part of agricultural labour. They are the most important class of labourers, and are remunerated accordingly. But they are among the “untouchables.” The “untouchables” sometimes have a customary and recognised place in the procedure of temple services and religious processions, derived possibly from their

original right of possession from which they have been ousted, but which now stands as survival of an ancient usage. Such are the inevitable discrepancies between custom and living value when the communal organisation has lost its elasticity and adaptability. No social ordering is sound unless it is a faithful and adequate expression of the actual living values of the social constituents. Communalism is founded on the principle of securing the full social value to every form of social service and social sacrifice, avoiding on the one hand the mischances, the hardships and the inequalities of an aggressive competition, and on the other the rigid cast-iron social grouping in the cantons and communes of the Prussianised pattern under the initiative of a centralised bureaucratic administration. Unfortunately communalism has its abuses, and it loses its very soul when a rigid social stratification and a disparity between social service and its living value tend to create inequalities and monopolies, thereby disturbing social harmony and checking vital progress.

But it cannot be gainsaid that the general structure of rural economic organisation and the traditional economic stratification which have more or less fixed the collective needs of the village, as well as the nature and standard of the services required of the village artisans, labourers and functionaries, have contributed a great deal to social and economic harmony, and the reduction of social waste due to economic friction.

Communal Needs and Wants.—The organisation of industry, agricultural labour and handicraft production on a communal basis in the village community of India represents the essential features of co-operative production in the West. The exact nature of the services required of artisans and labourers and their number are determined and regulated according to the needs of the village community. It is the custom in some village communities in the north on the 11th of the second half of Jet, the day after Dasahra, when the arrangements for the ensuing agricultural year are made, to determine how many artisans the village wants. The *thakur banya* then sees to the arrangement, and in case of day

labourers distributes them among the cultivators by lot. In the estimate of the villagers' collective needs, in the organisation of industrial and agricultural labour collectively controlled for the satisfaction of these needs, we find a highly developed system of co-operative industry which is the ideal of a large number of economists in the West ; while in the village community's estimate of the artisans' and labourers' wages the theory of just and fair wages is always held in solution. It must be remembered also that the cash payment of wages tends to separate the economic from the social life by substituting the cash nexus for the tie of personal relationship. There is no doubt that the system of wages paid in kind tends to preserve the economic within the range of ethical obligation, and fosters personal relationships in the economic world. The payment of wages in kind, with its exacter adjustments to personal needs and its fuller opportunities of human relationships and social service, is, of course, not suited to complex industrial and commercial developments, but it will always have a place in the simple and vital forms of communal life which will develop *pari passu* with these latter, and, in all attempts at economic reconstruction, the natural and social advantages of a payment in kind must be conserved and secured by necessary modifications and adjustments of the more complex machinery of exchange and distribution.

In the Indian industrial world economic relations are duly restrained by social and brotherly relations ; into the business life are imported the personal element and the human factor, which have humanised economic life. The labourer in the West does not meet his employer or the capitalist in his family, household or social duties and relations. The relation is governed by the cash and its economic equivalent. In India there is nothing like an economic relationship as such. Economic, ethical and social duties and obligations are intermixed. All these contrasts between the wage systems of India and the West cannot be shown better than by giving a record of the duties and dues of labourers and artisans in the Indian village community.

NORTHERN INDIA.

Name of Labourer.	Economic Service.	Dues.
1. Carpenter.	To make the woodwork of all ordinary agricultural implements, beds, stools, spinning-wheels, etc., to cut wood on the occasions of marriage. Wood is in all cases supplied by the agriculturist, or else paid for separately.	<p><i>Kharif.</i> Half seer¹ per maund of the produce. Two bundles of <i>jowar</i> and <i>bajra</i>. One and a quarter seers per plough at sowing time.</p> <p><i>Rabi.</i> Half seer per maund of the produce. Two and half seers per plough at sowing time, one sheaf of the crop containing about 5 seers of grain. At a daughter's wedding, from 8 as. to Re.1² and food; on a son's marriage, 4 as. and food. The same as those of the carpenter.</p>
2. Lohar.	To repair all agricultural iron implements, to fit all iron-work for the plough; the <i>zamindar</i> supplies the iron and the coal is supplied by the blacksmith.	
3. Chamar.	<p>1. To supply <i>beggar</i> (fagging); to repair all leather; to remove dead cattle.</p> <p>2. To supply <i>beggar</i>; to repair all leather; to remove dead cattle and to supply two pairs of shoes to the owner yearly; to supply ox-goads and thongs when needed.</p> <p>3. To supply <i>beggar</i>; to repair leather, to remove dead cattle, to supply shoes to all the members of the family when needed, to assist in the reaping of the harvest; to clear the fields before ploughing, one <i>chamar</i> to be daily present to assist at the reaping of the harvest.</p>	<p>1. One-fortieth of the whole crop of grain.</p> <p>2. One-twentieth of the whole crop of grain.</p> <p>3. One-tenth of the grain crop. On a daughter's marriage from 8 as. to Rs.5 and food for three days; on a son's marriage, from 8 as. to Re.1 and food. The skin of dead sheep and goats</p>

¹ 40 seers = 1 maund = 80 lbs.² 16 annas = 1 rupee = 1s. 4d.

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Name of Labourer.	Economic Service.	Dues.
	<p>The <i>chamars</i> are by far the most important class of labourers, for, besides their function as artisans, they perform a very considerable part of the agricultural labour. They give two pair of boots a year for the ploughman, and two for the woman who brings the bread into the fields, and one ox whip (<i>narka</i>), and a leather rope (<i>saula</i>) to fix the yoke (<i>jua</i>) to the plough in the half year, and do all the necessary repair. They are the <i>coolis</i> of the village. They plaster the houses with mud when needed and do all kinds of odd work.</p>	<p>goes to the <i>chamar</i> of the family, one thirteenth part of the flesh of cow, ox, calf, sheep and goats, and one-nineteenth part of the flesh of buffalo go to the <i>chuhra</i>, (sweeper), the remainder being the <i>chamar's</i> share. When any buffalo, bull or other cattle, belonging to a stranger or unowned, dies, the skin is shared by all the <i>chamars</i> of the village, and of the flesh one-thirteenth or one-nineteenth, as above, goes to the <i>chuhras</i> of the village and the remainder is given to all the <i>chamars</i> of the village.</p>
4. Potter.	<p>To supply earthen vessels for the household, to supply two <i>mathas</i> (pitchers) at each harvest, to keep donkeys and carry grain on them from the threshing floor to the village, and generally to bring all grain to the village that is bought elsewhere for seed or food (<i>big khaj</i>) or for weddings and feasts. (But he will not carry grain away from the village without payment.)</p>	<p>One <i>chhaj</i> (winnowing basket) of grain at harvest time; on a daughter's marriage, Re.1 to Rs.3 and food; on a son's wedding, from 8 as. to Re.1 and food.</p>
5. <i>Kahar</i> (water-carrier)	<p>To bring water to the reapers and at weddings, and when plastering is being done; to make all the baskets needed, and the <i>boria</i> or matting and <i>bijria</i> or fans, generally of date-palm leaves where the women are secluded; he also brings water to the house. He is fisherman of the country.</p>	<p>Five seers of grain at harvest. On a daughter's marriage from Re.1 to Rs.5 and food daily so long as he supplies water; on a son's marriage from 4 as. to Re.1 and food.</p>
6. <i>Sakha</i> (Muhammadan waterman).	<p>To supply water to Muhammadan houses, to sprinkle water at weddings.</p>	<p>Five seers of grain at each harvest; on weddings 4 annas and food.</p>

Name of Labourer.	Economic Service.	Dues.
7. <i>Chuhra</i> (sweeper).	To supply <i>beggar</i> ; to sweep lanes and houses and carry night-soil; to collect the dung, put it into cakes and stock it; to work up the manure and to conduct the cattle to other villages and bring them back; to collect the people for an assemblage and to act as a guide; to remove dead camels, horses and asses and mules. News of a death sent to friends is invariably carried by him.	Five seers of grain at each harvest; on a son's wedding Re.1 and the refuse of the dinner of the whole <i>barat</i> (wedding party) and food for three days. One loaf daily from the house which he cleans; takes shoes and clothes of the dead, the whole skin of the dead mule, camel, ass and horse, one-thirteenth of the flesh of cow, sheep and goat, and one-nineteenth of the flesh of dead buffalo or its young.
8. <i>Nai</i> (barber)	To go on errands to relatives; to shave the heads of males, to clean the vessels of guests at weddings and funerals; to shave and make tobacco and attend upon guests; the <i>nain</i> (barber's wife) accompanies the bride to the bridegroom's house.	One <i>chhaj</i> (winnowing basket) of grain at each harvest; Re.1 at the betrothal of a son, Rs.6 and one <i>dohar</i> (double sheet of cloth) and pice to the value of Rs.2 at a daughter's betrothal on a son's wedding Rs.6 or Rs.7 daughter's food for days di
9. <i>Chhipi</i> (tailor).	To supply <i>mandha</i> (awning) on a daughter's marriage and also to supply cloth.	

The *dhobi* or washerman receives as much as the carpenter in villages where the women do not wash the clothes ; but only a small allowance, if any, in others, where he is often not found at all.

The *teli* or oilman, *gadriya* or wool-felter, the *julaha* or weaver, the *chimpi* alias *lelgar* or dyer, and the *sunar* or goldsmith, have no fixed allowance, but are paid by the job ; usually either by retaining some portion of the material given them to work up, or by receiving a weight of grain equal to that of the materials.

The weaver is supplied with yarn by the cultivator. It is the women who spin cotton. The *bastarwa* is the village *kamin* or servant, and is paid 4 seers of grain per house at each harvest. The *julaha* is not a village servant ; he works on wages. His wages are :

1. Re.1 per 30 yards of cloth if cotton is provided.
2. $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per 30 yards of cloth for laying the warp and woof.
3. Flour is also given to the weaver equal in weight to the cotton used. The weaver uses half for the cloth and eats the other half.
4. 1 pice for oil.

For weaving a man's entire apparel, 10 annas will be charged the weaver in addition to the cotton supplied. This consist of :—

War (10 yards)	..	..	$1\frac{1}{2}$	seer of cotton
Wh (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards)	..	..	1	" " "
Wards)	..	..	$\frac{1}{2}$	" " "

1 at Re.1 per seer.

her, who is a Mussalman, parches the and of the family. The village oven Mussalman peasants have their not wealme. Besides paying himself by the grain or cakes brought him, he is given er plough at the harvest.

hanya, who weighs the grain and whose ally valuable because rent is taken in 1 is to be weighed out and distributed 3, the tenant and the landlord, is given an

allowance varying from a quarter of a seer per maund, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers per threshing floor, or one paropi per maund to one seer, or even $1\frac{1}{4}$ seer per maund.

The *muhsarsil* or *thapi*, the landlord's watchman, who attends on behalf of the landlord when the grain is winnowed and stamps the heap of grain with a wooden stamp on clay so that it may not be tampered with until division, and who also collects the landlord's share of the produce, is paid one topa per threshing floor, or 5 seers per plough, or sometimes as much as 6 seers per 12 maunds.

The *shikari* or hunter, who kills the birds and animals which prey on the crops, sometimes earns 5 seers per plough.

The *dom* and *mirasi* are the musicians of all, and the bards of the tribes and castes other than Rajputs and Brahmans, whose *bhats* or *jagas* seldom reside in the district. The *bhats* are the genealogists of the higher castes, and visit their clients periodically to record all births and other domestic events of importance. The *dom* is the very lowest of castes. The *mirasi* who supplies the music and poetry required on festive occasions takes 15 seers per plough.

In all marriages or funeral feasts, the *mirasi* sings songs and celebrates the praises of the ancestors, real or imaginary, of his entertainers. He is also the news carrier of the village. He is very often sent on responsible errands (*britti*). He also goes with the daughter to the bridegroom's place.

The *birahi* or drummer, who beats the drum in a village on the river when the rice-embankments are in danger of a flood, to call the people together to protect them, takes 5 seers per plough at the harvest.

And the *deredar* or the fire-carrier, whose business is to see that the *hukkas* are always full and alive, receives 5 seers per plough for this service.

In Hindu villages the Brahman, or *guru*, takes 10 seers per plough for religious services, the customary fees given on all occasions of birth and death. Similarly in Mussalman villages the *masitwal* takes 5 seers per plough, and among other services, he blesses the grain before it is winnowed and before it is divided.

is given by the *fakir* or professional religious mendicant, who in that case is given 5 seers per plough.

Relative Increase or Decrease of Occupations.—Very interesting data are to be found relating to the increase or decrease of the different village occupations in recent years from the figures of the Shahpur district in the Panjab, the whole of which forms part of the western basin of the great Indo-Gangetic plain. The total population of the district has increased by 39 per cent. since 1891; nearly half of this increase is due to immigration, and half to natural increase. How the increase has been distributed over the various occupations and castes can be judged from these figures :

Occupation.	Caste.	Increase, per cent.
A.—Agriculture	{ Jat-Rajput	64
	{ Awan	28
	{ Khokhar	20
	{ Baloch	29
	{ Arains-Malyar	60
B.—Religion	{ Sayad	38
	{ Brahman	16
	{ Qureshi-Sheikh	27
C.—Business	{ Khatri	12
	{ Arora	15
Unskilled labour	{ Sunar	38
	{ Tarkhan	36
	{ Lohar	40
	{ Kubhar	19
	{ Julaha	2
	{ Muchhi	28
	{ Teli	18
	{ Dhobi	27
	{ Mochi	23
“	Mussalli	80

that the unskilled labourers have increased their section of the population; but the far behind; the *sayads*, who minister to the great majority of the population, the their vanity, and the smiths and

maçons, who supply the most necessary instruments of agriculture, have all kept pace with the general rate of increase; the *muchhis*, who prepare the food, and the *darzis*, *dhobis* and *mochis*, who supply, clean and repair raiment, have lost a little ground; the potter is naturally less needed in a world of canals than in one of Persian wheels, and the oil-presser is also being ousted, partly by the improved oil-press, and partly by the European exporter. The weavers afford a rather startling proof of the power of Manchester.

United Provinces.—In the United Provinces, the village system is in full force. In some districts the harvest at the threshing-floor is divided rateably among landlord, tenant and artisan. "No one of the cultivating body, whether he be a landlord or tenant, is allowed to pick out the good land of the village for himself; every description of land, good and bad, is distributed rateably among the cultivators in the proportion of the number of plough-cattle which each person possesses. The entire community has an interest in the grain heap; not only the landowner, the tenant and the ploughman, but also the village servants, artisans and others, who are paid for the various services they render to the agriculturists, not in cash, but by a fixed allowance at harvest time. The most important shares in the heap are, of course, that of the landlord or *sarkar*, that of the tenant, and that of the ploughman. If the tenant keeps no ploughman, he takes the ploughman's share in addition to his own." The dues paid to village servants and others, known as *jeora*, vary in different estates; those which are customary in Dhebarua may be taken as a fair example. There the village barber, *lohar* and *ahir* receive full *jeora*, which the *panseris* for each plough of cultivation receive half *jeora*, called *kalyani*, when the division is made. The *kahar* for supplying water, and some astrologer or *pandit*, who determines the time for ploughing, sowing and reaping, a village exorcist, who secures the village from

forming the ceremony of *dih-bandwa*, and sets up the curious little posts known as *jak* and *jakni* which are seen outside most of the villages. The latter is usually a Tharu, although the office is sometimes performed by an Ojha Brahman. These dues are paid three times in the year; from the *rabi*, from the *usahan* or autumn crop, and from the *jarhan* or winter rice harvest. Other deductions are made from the heap before the division between landlord and tenant, most of these being found in the neighbouring districts of northern Oudh. Thus five *anjuris* or double handfuls are taken for Brahmans, and a smaller quantity for *fakirs*; and an indefinite amount, known as *agwar*, is taken by the *harwahin* or ploughman's wife, and a regular allowance is given to the weighman. Before the grain is threshed out, still further allowances are made. The *ahir*, *barhai* and *lohar* obtain, in addition to the *jeora*, an amount known as *mandi* or one-twenty-fourth part of a *bigha* of the standing crop per plough; while the herdsman takes four *mandis* one for each bullock, and the reaper receives one sheaf in fifty as *loni*, this amount being doubled in the case of the proprietor's *sir* land.

Bihar.—In Bihar, the chief village officials belong to the establishment maintained by the landlords for collecting their dues from the villagers; and in most villages may be seen the *kachahri*, where the rents are collected and local business transacted. The head of this establishment is

the landlord's agent or *gumashta*, whose duty is to collect rents and generally look after the interests of the *malik*.

His position naturally makes him one of the most important men in the village community; and, though he

receives only a nominal pay, with perhaps a small percentage on the receipts, his perquisites enable him to live

comfortably. Next in rank comes the *patwari*

the *patwari*, who with the *gumashta* enjoys reputation for filling his pockets at the expense of the cultivator, whom he can cheat with cooked accounts, and the cultivator, who must pay for a fair share of the produce.

The *gumashta* has one or two paid assistants, who act as his lieutenants and help

in collecting the rents. In each village there is also the *gorail*, a messenger who acts under the orders of the *gumashta*. He is generally paid no salary like the *barahil*, but receives instead a small portion of land, which he is allowed to cultivate rent free. Where the rent of land is settled by estimating the outturn of the crop, the landowner's establishment contains also an *amin*, or chief surveyor, a clerk (*navisinda*), an arbitrator (*salis*), and a chainman (*jaribkash*) who measures the fields with a rod.

The other officials, who are independent of the *malik*, are the *jeth-raiyat* or village headman; the Brahman priest, who takes a percentage of the produce at every harvest; the *sunar* or goldsmith and the *tehi* or oilman, who are generally employed as *dandidars* or weighmen; the *kajjam* or barber, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the washerman, the tanner and the tanner's wife, who holds the office of village midwife. These officials are all paid annually at rates which vary with the state of the season and the wealth of the cultivator. Besides these, there is the village *chaukidar* or watchman, in the service of government.

Bengal.—In Bengal the indigenous village system has lost much of its vitality on account of the power and influence of the landholders. The village *mukhya*, *mandal* or *pradhan*, who formerly held an important position, as he was the representative of the villagers in matters of general or individual interest, has lost much of his importance. He has often become a mere creature of the *zamindar*, who sometimes gives him a remuneration, appoints and dismisses him. He is still the village headman, however, and receives perquisites and gifts from the villagers on the occasion of domestic and religious ceremonies in accordance with the time-honoured custom.

The other village officials are the priest, barber, washerman, astrologer and the representatives of the various artisan castes. In the old organisation, these persons were looked upon as public servants, and remunerated by grants of rent-free lands from the common lands of the village. They have, however, long ceased to exist as village officials, and are now hardly more than private

servants carrying on certain occupations, and paid for their work by the individuals on whom they attend.

The chief of these is the *purohit* or priest. Nearly every well-to-do Hindu cultivator maintains a family idol, generally a *salagram* (a black round stone with a hole in it), which the family priest worships every morning and evening as representing Vishnu. For this he is remunerated by daily gifts of rice and milk. In some villages there is an idol kept in a house called the *mandap*, or in a masonry temple erected at the joint expense of the great majority of the villagers; and gifts of rice, fruit, etc., for its service are contributed by each household in turn. If the village idol has been set up by a *zamindar* or rich villager, there will generally be found an endowment of land attached thereto, from the proceeds of which the articles necessary for the *puja* service are purchased, and from which are supported the village priest, the *mali* who furnishes the flowers, the *doms* or musicians, the *kamar* who sacrifices goats before the idol, the potter who supplies the earthen vessels, etc. Besides his remuneration for his services before the idol, the family priest receives numerous gifts from the villagers on occasions of births, marriages, *sraddha*, etc.

The *goswamis* keep two officers, viz., a *faujdar* and under him a *chharidar*. For every *bhek*, i.e., the ceremony of initiation of a Vaishnava, and for every marriage and death ceremony of Vaishnava, Rs.1-6 is said to be due to the *goswamis*, of which the *faujdar* takes 4 annas and the *chharidar* 2 annas as remuneration for the services they render to the *goswamis*.

Certain classes, who are still practically the common servants of the village community, are also largely paid in kind. One *kamar* or smith usually works for the people of four or five villages, his chief business being the forging of ploughshares, hoes and other agricultural implements. A ploughshare generally becomes almost useless at the end of each ploughing season, and has to be re-cast and re-forged at the beginning of the next year. This the smith does, and as remuneration receives a customary fee of 10 to 15 seers of unhusked rice from every husbandman at harvest time

for each plough owned by him. For other work he is paid at contract rates, generally in money. At sacrificial ceremonies the *kamar* also officiates as sacrificer ; and in many cases he holds a small plot of rent-free land in return for his services in that capacity.

Usually one *sutradhar* or carpenter does the work of two or more villages, his chief business being to make the wood-work of ploughs, for which he receives a certain fixed measure of rice from every cultivator. The wages of the *dhobi* or washerman are paid either in kind or in money, but every village has not a washerman of its own, and in a poor family the females wash the clothes themselves. Families in better circumstances, however, generally send their clothes to the washerman's house, whether it is situated in their own or a neighbouring village. For furnishing a temple with earthen vessels, etc., the *kumhar* or potter, in many places, is rewarded by a small plot of rent-free land, but earthen vessels of domestic use are paid for in money.

The *mali* or gardener, who supplies flowers and garlands to the villagers on ceremonial occasions, also in some cases holds service land in remuneration of his labour ; and the flowers and garlands which he supplies are paid for either in kind or in money. But most are unable to subsist solely by growing flowers and making garlands, and follow agriculture as an auxiliary means of livelihood. The *napit* or barber, besides shaving a certain number of families, called his *jajmans* or customers, has to be present at marriage ceremonies and assist in the performance of certain rites. His wages usually consist of a measure of unhusked rice paid by each family at harvest time. This is the general custom ; but in some villages he is paid in grain or money every time he shaves a beard, cuts hair, acts as a manicure, etc.

Among other village servants may be mentioned the *acharya*, i.e., the astrologer, fortune-teller, and almanac-writer, who is remunerated either in money or by gifts of rice, pulses and vegetables. Similarly, the *simanadar* or village watchman gets four bundles (*bira*) of paddy per *bigha* as his remuneration for guarding the fields at night during the harvesting seasons. The *kayal*, again, whose

business is to weigh and measure grain, is generally paid in kind by the buyer or seller, or by both; he is frequently found at markets where large quantities of grain are sold, but not usually in the smaller villages.

Orissa.—In Orissa, the village system is still intact, and wages are usually paid in kind, though they are not fixed. In his own native village, a skilled labourer is paid from 4 to 6 annas and an adult unskilled labourer 2 annas a day; but the amount of the wages paid depends on the demand for labour, the nature and amount of the work done, and the size and position of the village, i.e., whether it is in a remote and out-of-the-way tract or in the neighbourhood of a town. For making and repairing agricultural implements, carpenters and blacksmiths, who are still an essential part of the village community, are always paid in kind, the annual payment averaging about 9 seers of rice from every client; and the day labourer, when paid in kind, receives varying quantities of paddy equivalent to 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of rice. Measured by the quantity of grain given, there does not appear to have been any increase in the wages paid to agricultural labourers during the last thirty years; but, owing to the enhanced price of food-grains, the money valuation of wages in kind has increased by 90 per cent. On the other hand, though the wages paid in cash have increased considerably, they have not risen in the same proportion as the prices of staple food-crops, and they are now slightly less in value than wages in kind; the latter are, therefore, preferred by the village labourers, and it is difficult to obtain a *cooli* in the *mofussil* who will work for cash wages in the sowing and reaping seasons, when wages in kind are freely given. In some districts the village blacksmith is paid a *tambi*¹ of rice for mending a ploughshare or preparing a sickle, and the same quantity of paddy for sharpening four plough-shares. The washerman is given a *khandi*¹ of paddy in the case of each adult and 10 *tambis*

¹ A *khandi* is equal to 20 *tambis*, of which there are two kinds, (1) the *bhuti* and (2) the *lakshmiparashad*. A *bhuti tambi* of paddy weighs 15 chittacks and a *lakshmiparashad tambi* 1 seer and 6 chittacks. Labourers are always paid in *bhuti tambis*.

for each boy or girl as his yearly wage, besides food on the days when he is given clothes to wash, and special fees on births, deaths and marriages. The barber is similarly remunerated in kind, namely, one khandi of paddy per annum for a man and 10 tambis for an unmarried boy. In some cases, however, these village employees hold service lands. Carpenters are very few in number, the *ryots* usually doing their own rough woodwork themselves or having it done by their farm labourers.

North Indian Villages—General Conclusions.—The above description of the organisation of industry, though following the features presented by North Indian villages, is fairly typical of the greater part of India. But, as we have shown, between one province and another, and sometimes between districts in the same province, differences arise in obedience to the forces of adaptation to a different physiographical, social and industrial environment. Thus, some new village functionaries appear who are very important in agricultural and social economy, while some lose their significance altogether. In any case we find a close agricultural co-operation with its own organisation and government, and its staff of artisans and functionaries, which vary in different types of villages and ethnic stocks, and whose number is determined by the size of the community that they serve. The methods of payment are also similar. The artisans and functionaries are always regarded as public servants of the village community, and they are paid by grants of land free of rent, and sometimes of revenue, or by shares of grain at the harvest, or by both, supplemented in any case by presents of food, clothing or other perquisites on special occasions like marriage, birth, death, *sraddha* or religious festivals. It is only when capitalistic landlordism has made the headman of the village a mere revenue official without powers and without dignity, or the administrative machinery, satisfied with the exclusive functions of the *patel* and the accountant, without whom the revenue cannot be easily and efficiently collected, has refused to recognise the importance of the services of the other village functionaries and has itself wrested the

rent-free lands from their hands, or tacitly consented in the process of transfer, that the *punchayet* and the subsidiary organisation of the communal employment of labour have declined, and thus the age-long village institutions, which are the most useful bodies for economic reconstruction, have been undermined and disintegrated. And now, when the disintegration is proceeding in the administrative process, it is facile for the administrator to say that communal institutions have disappeared. This is far from being the case. A close acquaintance with rural life and labour must lead to the conclusion that there are no better instruments of economic reconstruction than the communal habits and institutions which await renewal in the hands of the administrator and statesman. The government having interposed a middleman between itself and the cultivators, as a rule, saw no necessity for dealing directly with the village artisans and inferior village employees. The chief exceptions to this rule are the cases of the village accountant and headmen. The village watchman and messengers were also in many cases, in consideration of their useful and necessary services, granted small cash allowances, or were allowed to retain their rent-free lands where these still existed. Other exceptions may also be found; but, as a general rule, it is only the revenue-paying and collecting officers who have been retained intact as also the village messengers, while the other artisans and servants who serve important functions in the social economy of the village have all been ignored. Again, there has often been a reduplication of the police and the inferior magistracy, with results of confusion and friction. Local self-government in India has had, indeed, a chequered career. The history of village administration under British auspices has successively shown three tendencies. The first is the complete neglect of the indigenous rural self-government in the village *punchayet* and the superimposition of the headmen, the police and the accountant in the interests of the revenue as well as of the criminal administration. The second is that of bringing the residual sources of traditional authority in the village into the fold of the central government by a system of

grants and salaries, doles and subsidies in addition to their customary shares, and by a system of nomination and ratification exercised by the magistrate. * This has brought about a complete loss of initiative of the people as regards sanitation, education and public works, which were formerly maintained by the indigenous machinery, but which have fallen into desuetude and disrepair in the absence of all responsibility and all authority, customary or positive. The last is a tendency towards decentralisation, by the formation of union committees and local bodies, the effects of which on the rehabilitation of village economy have yet to be seen.

Central and Southern India.—In South and parts of Central India communal tradition has fixed twelve as the usual number of artisans and functionaries in the village. These are called *barabalutis* or *ayagaras* (lit., persons remunerated by customary fees in kind). Besides the *patel* (headman) and the *shanbogue* (registrar or accountant) there are—

<i>Toti</i>	Chuckler
<i>Talari</i>	Carpenter
<i>Neerghunti</i>	Iron-smith
Washerman	Potter
Barber	<i>Kavalgar</i>

the particulars of whose duties are as follows :

(1) The *toti* is a man of the Pariah caste. At the beginning of the season, he collects the *ryots* to attend to the work of the *buttayee* fields at the proper time, and to plough and sow the lands. He takes care that the crops are not destroyed by stray cattle ; he keeps all the *ryots* in readiness near the *cutchery* for the purpose of collecting the *candayem* from them. He runs in the night time with the post-runners carrying the torch, and furnishes them with such supplies as may be requisite. He is likewise required to act as a guide to government officers and travellers of any importance.

The *toti* is remunerated by land held free of rent or on a light assessment. He may receive one *mora* or soop of *rāgi*, approximately 10 seers, and the skins of dead cattle. He

may be paid also Rs.5 from the relatives of a dead person ; Rs.1-4-0 for digging the grave or for piling the funeral firewood. The fee which the *kulvadi* receives for the soil under which a dead body is interred is called *net-bhaga*, soil-money. He also is given odds and ends—for example, feeding and a cocoanut from every house in the village during the Gauri and Ganesha feasts. The right of *puja* of the village goddess generally resides in the *kulvadi* probably because it is a part of Non-Aryan religion and ritualism which Hinduism could not completely assimilate to itself, especially the sacrifice of animals, which a Hindu of the higher caste would not consent to.

2. The *talari* or village watchman. He takes care that no thefts are committed in the village ; he secures such cattle as are found without owners and acts for the *toti* when absent. He goes on errands, carrying information about marriages, births and deaths, etc. He carries the birth and death, crop and police reports, and any other correspondence, to the *taluk* office.

He is remunerated in the same way as the *toti*. Besides the *nijayam* and *ardhayam* (shares of the crop) and the *maniyams* (privileged lands) allowed for their maintenance to encourage them to a due performance of their duties, the peasants privately give the *talari* *ragi* and vegetables.

3. The *neerghunti* regulates the supply of irrigating water to the wet lands of the village, whether belonging to the *ryots* or to the *sarkar*. He has to economise the supply of water in every possible way, and in the season of rains might be said to hold the safety-valves of the tanks and other reservoirs in his hands. He actually holds the *tuba* or the key of the channel pipe, and distributes the water to the fields of all persons in just proportions, so that the crops may not be dried up. He inspects the *bunds*, channels and sluices of tanks, and in the case of any irregularities he reports immediately to the *patel* and the *shanbogue*. Many a day's supply of water is sometimes lost by the timidity or apathy of an inefficient *neerghunti*, and on the other hand many a valuable dam is carried away by the rashness or ignorance of a presumptuous one. The *neerghunti* knows

from his practical experience and personal observation, the amount of water required by a *ryot* for the production of his crop; when the water diminishes he renders account thereof to the managers, lest he should be suspected of disposing of it clandestinely.

For these services he receives 1 colaga or 10 seers of *ragi*, and a bundle of grain which he can carry. This bundle is called *mura-kultina-hore*, the sheaf which can be tied by lengths of three stalks, and exactly corresponds to the *tirmani* of the Panjab villages.

4 and 5. Washerman (*agasa*) and barber (*nayinda*), who are remunerated by fees by the *ryots*. For a family the washerman is paid one bundle of unthreshed straw, one winnowful of grain at the threshing floor, and 20 measures of grain with other perquisites, such as food on all the feast days and marriage and other auspicious occasions. The washerman is entitled to the cloth worn by a girl at the time of her puberty, and to the presents given by her husband when he carries the news of the event. The clothes of unmarried persons in the family and those of the *yajaman* are washed free. The barber similarly receives as an annual allowance 5 colagas of grain with a winnowful of paddy or other grain, and a bundle of straw at the threshing-floor. On days on which he works he is given a meal, and on feast days, with other *ayagaras*, he is given doles of food at the houses of the chief village families. On special occasions like a marriage, birth, *upanayana* or death he receives cloth and food. As in the Northern Indian village, the barbers have different circles of families allotted to each, and none can encroach upon another's circle. The *nayindas* have also to play on their pipes at the services in the village temple.

6. The village potter (*kumbara*). He supplies earthenware, household pots and utensils, as well as funnels at the bank of the lakes as a passage for the water to irrigate the fields. He takes 1 colaga of grain from the cultivators at each harvest.

7. The carpenter (*badagi*) repairs the woodwork, makes the ploughshare and supplies small wooden vessels, lamp-

stands, etc., for household use. He takes 1 *colaga* of grain from each *ryot*.

8. The iron-smith. He repairs the implements of agriculture without receiving hire, but he has a fee called *maira* granted to him from the village for other work. He does the work of the carpenter when necessary.

9. The chuckler. This man watches over the crops of the wet lands which are cultivated under the *warum* system, until they are reaped, threshed and the corn separated from the husk. He also prepares for the *ryots* some leather furniture for cattle, etc.

10. The *kavalgar*. He takes care of the produce of the trees of various kinds and has no other duties.

There are many villages in which the full complement of the *barabaluti* is not to be found. In many there are five or six officers and servants in all. In some others, again, there are new functionaries such as the goldsmith (*akasale*), who measures the share of the crop paid to the *sarkar*, and *shroffs* (banks) and keeps in deposit the money collected in the village in payment of the revenue. He is supplied with gold and silver, and makes the ornaments. For this work he takes payment, but for the former he obtains the *hore-hullu* and *mura-batta*. Among other village functionaries may be mentioned the schoolmaster; the calendar Brahman (*panchangi*), who calculates the festivals and anniversaries and the propitious times for commencing sowing or any new undertakings; the *pujari*, who propitiates and worships the village idol; the ferryman or the fisherman (*ambuga*); the blower of horn (*kambudona*), who reports the advent of a stranger or official, etc.

In some parts there is also in every village an influential and generally rather old *ryot* known by the title of *hiriya ryot* or *buddhivant* (the wise), who is consulted on all occasions, and is usually the spokesman when any representation has to be made to the superior authorities. Sometimes two or three leading *ryots* or *heggadays*, in a collection of villages, act on behalf of the *ryots* of their districts in all transactions of a common interest, such as arranging sales of betel-nut with merchants, and the details of the settlement and

collections with *sarkar* officers; and engagements signed by them are held to be binding on those *ryots*.

Roughly estimated, the shares of the crop are as follows. If the produce be one khandi of *ragi* :—

1. <i>Sarkar</i>	7	turns
2. <i>Talari</i>	2	"
3. Pariahs who take care of the crops in the field	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	"
4. Village servants	$\frac{4}{8}$	"
5. Brahmins	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	"
6. <i>Shanbogue</i>	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	"
7. <i>Shroff</i> (money-banker)	$\frac{3}{16}$	"
8. <i>Marsaldar</i> (a <i>sarkar</i> peon)	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	"
9. <i>Patel</i> (<i>gondū</i>)	1 $\frac{1}{8}$	"
10. The head of the <i>jangam matam</i> or the priest of the temple who worships the <i>lingam</i>	$\frac{3}{16}$	"
	<hr/>	
	12	turns
Remaining to the <i>ryot</i>	8	"
	<hr/>	
	20 turns = 1 khandi	

Central Provinces.—Similarly the village in the Central Provinces has several employees paid by customary contributions from the cultivators. The *lohar* or blacksmith receives one to one and a half small khandis of unhusked rice, yielding 60 to 80 lbs. of husked rice for each plough of four cattle, and one *kharwan* or sheaf of grain from each cultivator at harvest. The *malguzar*, or village proprietor, usually gives him a field free of rent. In return for this he mends the iron implements of agriculture and makes new ones when the cultivator supplies him with the charcoal and iron. Carpenters are usually not to be found in the villages, and such wooden tools as are required are made either by the *lohar* or by the cultivators themselves. These even make their own carts, only purchasing the wheels. One of the *chamars* of the village who is known as *meher*, takes the skins of cattle dying within its limits. When the village is a large one the privilege may be divided among several *chamars*, who divide up the cultivators between them and take their cattle. The *meher* is often given a field free of rent by the *malguzar*, or he may receive *jowar* or remuneration at the rate of one katha of seed-grain for every khandi of land,

measured by seed-area.¹ For this he supplies shoes free of cost to the *malguzar* and his children twice a year and gives him the neck-ropes and thongs required for his plough-cattle. In return for the hides of the tenants' cattle he furnishes them with the same articles at something below the ordinary rate.

Dhobis or washermen are not numerous, and the cultivators make sparing use of their services, preferring to wash their own clothes in a rough fashion. The *dhobi* receives presents for washing the clothes after the impurity occasioned by a birth or a death. The *malguzar* may give him a field free of rent, and in return for this he will chop up fuel for him and for officials who visit the village. Many villages have a special servant to attend to government officials, who is known as *begariha* and is usually a Rawat. He receives one or two acres of land free of rent and in return for this has to accompany any government official or other traveller, when so ordered by the *malguzar*, on his way to the next village, and carry his luggage over his shoulders. The village has usually also a *barga*, or worshipper of the indigenous deities, who receives 10 kathas or 30 lbs. of husked rice per plough of land from each cultivator and a sheaf at harvest. The *nai* or barber receives a field of one or two acres rent-free from the *malguzar*, and from the cultivators 30 lbs. of husked rice for each grown-up man in the family and 15 lbs. for each child. At the birth of a boy he is given 4 annas, and 3 annas at that of a girl, and the same sum when children die. When a man or a woman dies, he is given a present varying from 8 annas to 3 rupees according to the circumstances of the family, and from rich persons sometimes a cow or a calf. He usually shaves the cultivators once a fortnight, and on the sixth day after a birth has occurred in the family, and the tenth after a death. When the village landowner goes on a journey, the barber accompanies him and buys his food in the *bazar*, rubs his body with oil or *ghee* (melted butter) and massages his legs when he is tired. The barber's wife cleans the hair

¹ About an acre and two-fifths.

of well-to-do women with *sesamum* oil and combs it, and rubs oil on their bodies.

Madras.—We now come to the communal organisation of industry in the Madras Presidency. We are taking some specific instances from villages in different parts of Madras. In the village of Tiruchenduri in Trichinopoly District we find the following artisans and servants :

There is a *pannagar*, whose duty is to control day labourers who are engaged in the paddy-fields. He also combines the functions of the *kavalgar* and patrols the village in the night. He takes 30 Madras measures for every 40 kalams of paddy harvested by each cultivator. He possesses a *maniyam* of half an acre of land.

The washerman, the barber and the potter have been given house sites in the village and *maniyam* lands of three-fourths of an acre each. The potter supplies the pots for funeral occasions, and takes payment in cash or in kind for the domestic utensils he supplies. The carpenter has been given a *maniyam* land of the same size. He makes or repairs temple cars, doors, etc. For making a plough he is given on remuneration 11 Madras measures.

The blacksmith's *maniyam* is adversely owned by his children, who have become goldsmiths.

Another village servant is the *kavandan*, who is also given a special holding. He taps the palm and obtains the cocoanut trees for funeral occasions.

The village *vatian* or messenger has also his own *maniyam*.

The costs of channel repairs and maintenance are defrayed by the *imamdars* in proportion to the extent of land that each owns. There are also 8 acres of *maniyam* lands set apart for meeting the expenses of temple festivals, *bhajans*, *harikathas*, etc.

In the village Valadi again we find these artisans and servants :

The *nirarikaran* regulates the distribution of water. He is the bawler and crier. He attends when labourers repair channels. He takes 30 Madras measures for every 40 kalams of paddy reaped at each harvest by the cultivators.

There are two *kondiotis*, who guard village crops and pre-

vent cattle from going astray. The *kondioti* used to take 3 Madras measures for every 40 kalams; but, as the cultivators did not give him his allowances of grain, the *punchayet* fixed for him a monthly remuneration of 2 kalams of paddy every month.

There are 10 *kavalgars* or village guardsmen. For every 40 kalams of paddy at the harvest they are paid 18 Madras measures.

There was formerly a *maniyar*, who supervised the work of the different village servants, but this work is now attended to by the *punchayet*.

There is also the *oddan* (sweeper), who is paid Rs.5 per month. He sweeps only the *agraharam* and claims from each house a fee according to its frontage.

The priest, the washerman, the barber, the potter, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the dancing-girl, the *pandaram* and the *kaladi* have been given house sites in the village. They have *maniyam* lands, but these have now been taken possession of by the *punchayet*. But the barber and the *pandaram* still hold their plots of rent-free land.

The commutation rights, in the other cases, have been as follows :

For the priest, 3 kalams of paddy per month from the temple lands.

For the washerman, 6 measures of paddy for every house annually.

For the barber, 3 measures of paddy for every 40 kalams at each harvest.

For the potter, all the husks and straw of the threshing floor and cash prices for articles.

For the carpenter, 9 Madras measures for one ploughshare.

For the blacksmith, 8 Madras measures for a spade.

For the dancing-girl, $3\frac{1}{2}$ kalams of paddy out of the collections for the festival of the *Lokanayika*.

For the *kaladi* (who escorts carts during the night and assists the *kavalgars* in their watch), $4\frac{1}{2}$ Madras measures for every acre.

A similar complement of village artisans and servants, employed on a remuneration sometimes of a plot of

rent-free land as well as by allowances of so many measures of grain and perquisites in kind, is met with in the other districts of Madras. Each artisan and servant is given a house site at a little distance from the village in a group forming a sort of suburb called *paricheri* and *chakalaicheri*. The carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the barber and the washerman, as well as the *vatiyan*, the *talari*, the *neerghunni*, the *madayan*, irrigation-man, are all met with; and there are, in addition, the village watch, the *kavalgar* and the *thandan*, the village astrologer, the *pandaram* or the priest of the Sudra classes, as well as the dancing-girl and the village drummer. Usually they are under the submission of the village *punchayet*, but sometimes they are associated with the village temple. In Christian villages I have often found artisans and servants belonging to the church, who claim the right to work for it, and who are also employed by the villagers and given small payments at harvest. New functionaries also appear, such as the pastor, who also acts as the village headman or accountant, the evangelist, the catechist or *upadeshi*. The church is usually under the direct control and management of the village, which has built and maintained it, and which often pays its functionaries in certain measures of grain. In the village Ramapuram, which is in Travancore, and is composed entirely of Christian population, the lands belonging to the church have been bought out of *gramapanam*, and each cultivator pays at every harvest half a *marakal* per *kotta*, i.e., the net yield after harvesting, for the maintenance of the church. Besides the customary staff of village artisans and servants, there is the *vellaparvaikaran*, who watches crops, guards cattle and supervises the distribution of water for irrigation. Each house pays three-fourths of a rupee for each earning member to meet the expenses of the annual festival of the church. Fees on marriage, baptism and burial are distributed among the priest, catechist and the church. A school is also maintained out of *gramapanam*. There is often the house-to-house alms-collection (*pidiyari*) for the support of Christian students and orphans.

In Malabar, besides the artisans, who are indispensable, there are found such functionaries as the *vati*, the *tantri*, the *embranchiri*, the *chettian* and the *maran*, all of whom play a very important part in the socio-religious life of the Nairs. The goldsmith now comes to be very important, for he has to make *tali* for every Nair girl.

Whether in the *karayogam* or the compact Nair brotherhood or in the church congregation, the artisans, employees and functionaries are paid in remuneration sometimes a plot of rent-free land, sometimes allowances of so many measures of grain, and always perquisites in kind like cloth, banana and cocoanuts, chiefly on occasions of festivals, as well as domestic ceremonies. In many cases special functionaries are appointed by the village or community to collect the grain wages. In the Nair country the unit is the *tarwad*, the joint family managed by the *karnavan*. Several *tarwads* make a *taru*, and several *tarus* make one *nadu* or *desham*. Such is the structure of the village grouping, which has also determined the economic constitution of the community, and the distribution and employment of the local staff of artisans and functionaries in each group unit.

Western India.—In the Bombay Presidency each village has a similar regular staff of village officers and employees. In addition to the headman and the accountant, the full establishment of village servants comprises the following members: The village family priest, *ghamot*; the potter, *kumbhar*; the barber, *hajjam*; the carpenter, *suthar*; the blacksmith, *lohar*; the tailor, *darji*; the shoemaker, *mochi*; the washerman, *dhobi*; the tanner, *khalpo*; the sweeper, *dher*; the scavenger, *bhangio*; the watchman, *wartanio* or *rakha*.

Brahmans do duty as village priests, teachers and performers of ceremonies. They were formerly supported by an assignment of land, *pasaita*. Their claims were settled under the Summary Settlement Act (Bombay Act VII of 1863), and they were allowed to remain in possession of their land on payment of a quit-rent equal to one-fourth part (4 annas in the rupee) of its regular rental. The

village Brahman acts as family priest to all classes of the Hindu villagers, except to the *dhers*, *bhangios* and *khalpos*, whose touch to a Hindu is pollution. He is supported by fixed allotments of grain, by special supplies of uncooked food when caste dinners are given and by gifts of money on occasions of marriage or investiture with the sacred thread.

The services due by the carpenter and the blacksmith are confined to the making and mending of agricultural tools. All other work, such as making or repairing carts or building houses, is paid for by the individual requiring the work to be done. There has been little change in the position of villagers of this class during the last fifty years. The land, *pasaita*, formerly held by them, has been continued to them on payment of a quit-rent of one-fourth of the ordinary rental. As in former times, the villagers continue to pay their carpenter and blacksmith in grain, and in return their ploughs and harrows are repaired. When a villager requires other work to be done—a cart to be made or a house built—he pays the village carpenter in cash at the current rates of labour. If he has to build a house, the villager might engage a skilled carpenter from the nearest town; but, as a rule, he would also employ the village carpenter.

The village potter supplies the villagers with articles of earthenware, and, where there is no regular waterman, the potter brings travellers their supply of water. He keeps a separate water-jar for each caste, and in this way travellers of all castes, even Brahmans, can take water from him. Besides his duty as a waterman, he has to smear the floor of the *patel's* office, *chora*, and in some other ways acts as his servant. The potter is paid by the villagers in grain, and, besides, was formerly in the enjoyment of rent-free land. On payment of a quit-rent of one-fourth of their ordinary rental, the potter has been allowed to remain in possession of his lands.

The village tailor does all their sewing for men, and makes bodices for women. The villagers generally pay him a regular amount in grain. Since the tailor does no service to

the state, the quit-rent on his lands was fixed at one-half of the ordinary rent of the lands. There are more villages without than with a tailor.

The washerman cleans the men's clothes. But, like the tailor, he is not found in every village establishment. He is paid in grain by the villagers, and his land has been continued to him on payment of a quit-rent equal to one-half of the ordinary rental.

The village barber not only shaves and cuts nails, but is the village surgeon, knowing how to bleed and, in a few cases, how to set bones. The barber's wife is commonly the midwife. Perhaps because he is at rest almost all the day, the barber is the man chosen at night to act as torch-bearer when a traveller passes through the village, or when the *patel* is on the track of thieves. He is paid by an allotment of grain; and, because of the public services he performs as a torch-bearer, he has been continued in possession of his land on payment of a quit-rent of one-fourth part of its ordinary rental.

The shoemaker repairs the shoes of the community, and makes up what little leather is required in yoking the bullocks. Since the shoemaker performs no public service, his quit-rent has been fixed at one-half of the ordinary rental.

The tanner and leather-dresser prepares the leather from the hides of the cattle, sheep, and goats that die about the village. Since the tanner performs no public service the quit-rent he pays has been fixed at one-half of the ordinary rental, and since the skins of animals that die in the village are the tanner's perquisite, he receives but little grain from the villagers.

The watchmen form the village guard. In the northern parts of the district they are for the most part Kolis. South of the Narbada and in the Broach sub-division they are chiefly Bhils. Excepting some of the Kolis in Jambusar, who have swords and shields, almost all watchmen are armed with bows and arrows. None of them are provided with firearms. Sums of money are often escorted by them from the village to the collector's treasury at the head station.

In some villages there are fifteen to twenty watchmen; in others not more than four. The watchmen receive no allotment of grain from the villagers. They are paid by the state, partly in cash and partly by the grant of rent-free lands. Though very poor, the trustworthiness of these men when in charge of treasure is remarkable. Not only are they perfectly honest themselves, but they will resist to death any attempt to rob them of their charge.

The scavenger, *bhangio*, removes filth of every description, including night-soil. He is ready, at the call of all travellers, to show the road as far as the next village. He carries letters and messages; he attends travellers on their putting up at the village, showing them where to encamp, giving information of the stranger's arrival and fetching for them whatever may be wanting. He is in a surprising degree intelligent and active; and, though his language at home is Gujarati, he can, as a rule, speak Hindustani better than any other man in the village. Some of the *bhangios* cultivate. They have but scanty allotments of grain from the villagers, but generally go the rounds of an evening, about seven o'clock, when dinner is over, and collect scraps. Since their services are most useful to the public, the *bhangios* have been continued in the enjoyment of their land free from rent.

Like the *bhangio*, the *dher* acts as a sweeper; but, unlike the *bhangio*, he will not remove night-soil. He also carries letters and baggage, and shows boundaries. *Dhers* sometimes receive portions of grain from the villagers, not so much as barbers, but more than *bhangios*. On account of their usefulness as public servants, the *dhers* were allowed to retain their land free of rent.

Besides the ordinary establishments, special circumstances sometimes lead villagers to engage some of the following men: The *kosia* or water-drawer, who draws the water from the village well by means of a leather bag and a rope made of green hide, supplied at the village expense. The pair of bullocks used by the *kosia* is furnished in turn by the cultivators. The water drawn is chiefly for the use of the cattle,

and falls into a large reservoir adjoining the well from which they drink. Some of these wells and reservoirs are handsome structures. As a rule, these men receive no allotment of grain from the villagers. They sometimes cultivate, and have been continued in the enjoyment of their lands on payment of one-half of the ordinary rental. The *parabio* or water-supplier, who gets his name from *parab*, a place where travellers are supplied with water, takes his station under a tree on the high road, not perhaps near the village, but the place best suited for his purpose. He has by him several pots of clean, cold water, which he gives for drink to all passengers who ask for it. The *parabio* is either a man or an elderly woman of high caste, so that the water may be unexceptionable to all. Sometimes the water-supplier is a man of low caste—a Koli, Talavia or Bhil; even then travellers of high caste might take water from his hands so long as he had more than one pot for water. High-caste men generally, however, make themselves independent of water-sellers by carrying with them a metal pot tied by a string. Men of this class hold no village land. Travellers and the people of the villages near generally pay them something. Except in large villages the goldsmith seldom forms part of the village establishment. He formerly worked for the *patel*, but was never paid for his services in grain. When his help is wanted he receives the current rate of wages in money. The land held by the *soni* was assessed at its full value. The *barot* or *bhat*, singer and genealogist, is seldom met with as a village servant in the Broach district. The practice of employing men of this class as security for the fulfilment of an agreement has not been in force for more than fifty years. The *bhat* registers births and deaths, and for this work receives cash payments. He will also take food in a Kunbi's or Rajput's house, though he will not eat along with his host. The lands formerly held by *bhats* were not granted on condition of service. He was allowed to remain in possession on paying a quit-rent under the provisions of the Summary Settlement Act. The *akhun* or teacher is a Muhammadan, and was formerly found in Bohora villages. The Bohoras now learn less Urdu than

they formerly learnt. The *akhun* enjoys no rent-free land. The *waid*, or physician, administers to the village community, but is found only in large villages, perhaps in one village out of every twenty. The practice of these doctors has fallen off of late years. These men hold no service land. By caste they are generally Brahmans, though some are Hajjams, and one in Amod is a Shravak. The *joshi*, astrologer and astronomer, makes almanacs, assigns dates, duration of seasons, divisions and periods of the year. He names days for sowing or beginning the different field works. No one but a *joshi* can cast a horoscope. This is a very elaborate piece of work. The paper, from fifty to sixty yards long, is filled with pictures, and takes the astrologer from three to four months to prepare. But few people can understand what has been written. The higher classes of Hindus, Brahmans and Rajputs generally have horoscopes, but Kunbis and Kolis seldom have them. Again, Molesalams employ an astrologer, but Bohoras do not. Men of this class hold no service land. The *bhawayas* or strolling players are found in the establishments of only a few villages. They go about in parties of from fifteen to twenty under a headman called *naik*. One of the parties prepares the pieces, but none of the plays are written out. They hold no service lands. *Gosais* or *wairagis* are Hindu devotees. In almost every village land has been granted as the endowment of the station or *math* of one of these devotees. The *math* is commonly a pleasant open building, and travellers are accommodated and hospitably treated there. "The *gosai* or *wairagi*," says Colonel Williams, "is respected and looked up to by all castes of the inhabitants, and often contributes, by his impartial influence, to the preservation of harmony and good order in the community." The above remarks apply also to Mussalman devotees, *fakirs*. They are not infrequently maintained in Hindu villages, and a share of the village land is often assigned for the benefit of the tomb of some Mussalman saint. In all Bohora and other Mussalman villages a portion of the land is set apart for the support of a mosque, and to maintain an officer or *mullah* to keep the place clean and in good order. The

mullah also receives presents from the people, an allotment of grain or the gift of some article of dress. In almost every village one or more Hindu temples are endowed with plots of land. There is generally a council of villagers chosen to see that the proceeds of the land are applied to pay the temple priest, *pujari*, and keep the place in order. Fifty years ago, tanks were often endowed with land to pay for their repair; now there are said to be no lands of this class.

In works, such as digging a well or clearing out a tank, the expense or labour is distributed amongst the holders of lands at so much on the half-acre or *bigha* in the possession of each man.

In the larger villages in the plains the full staff of office-bearers and servants is generally found; in the smaller villages, especially in the hilly west, the staff is by no means complete. Many of the smaller western villages are composed of a few Koli families, with one or even without any family of Mahars, and with one accountant for a group, who usually lives in the largest village of his circle.

In most villages the bulk of the people are Brahmanical Hindus; in some the bulk are Lingayats. Brahmanical Hindus and Lingayats have separate religious office-bearers: the Brahmanical Hindus *joshis*, *purohits* and *mathadhipatis*, and the Lingayats *mathadayyas*, *ganacharis*, *chalvadis* and *basvis*. Except Panchals, who have their own priests, the village *joshi* is the priest of Brahmans, Salis, Marathas, Raddis and other Brahmanical classes. He generally holds land on quit-rent. Besides officiating as a priest at ceremonies, the *joshi* reads the Hindu calendar, draws up horoscopes and tells lucky moments. In a Brahman's house, besides cash, the *joshi* receives cooked food, and in a non-Brahman house he is given undressed food. In a Brahman family the *joshi* is not the sole priest. His fees are generally divided between himself and the *purohit* or family priest who helps the *joshi* in the ceremonies and worships the house gods. The *mathadhipati* or monastery-head is the deputy of the religious guide or *swami* of the village people and holds his appointment on the yearly payment of fixed sums to the *swami*. He inquires into

breaches of caste and religious rules, and submits his inquiries for the orders of the *swami*. The *mathadhipati* receives fees on every village ceremony. Vaishnavas as a rule feed their *mathadhipatis* better and show them greater respect than Smarts. The Lingayat religious officers are the *mathadayya* or monastery head, the *ganachari* or monastery-manager, the *chalvadi* or Mahar sacristan, and the *basvi* or female temple servant. The *mathadayya* or monastery head presides at all Lingayat ceremonies, levies fines on breaches of caste discipline, and admits fresh adherents to the Lingayat sect. His services are paid by fixed fees. The *ganachari* or monastery-manager presides at inquiries into divorce cases and gets fees in cash. The *chalvadi* or Mahar sacristan attends religious meetings, carrying an image of a bull and a bell which he repeatedly rings, and sings religious songs. He lives upon the charity of the people. The *basvi* or female ministrant calls the people to social and religious ceremonies, sweeps the temple and prepares the reception-hall for public meetings. Of the *qazi* and *mullah*, the Mussalman religious heads, the *qazi* registers marriages and the *mullah* leads the public prayers and slays animals for food. Besides in some cases enjoying rent-free land, these officers receive fees in cash.

Each villager is free to graze any number of cattle on the village pasture, which in most cases lies near the village. The villagers generally use as fuel cowdung cakes, *chipdis* or millet-stalk refuse, and cotton stalks. They seldom bring wood from the forest lands. Common forest lands where they exist are used for grazing. Excepting by the degraded Mahars and Mangs, who have generally a well of their own, the village drinking reservoir or well is used by all classes. In villages which have no separate reservoir or well for the Mahars and Mangs, they have their pitchers filled from the buckets of other villagers. Contributions to works of local usefulness, making and repairing wells, temples and reservoirs, are paid by the well-to-do in cash contributions and by the poor in labour.

Though in the main the large villages are large editions

of the hamlets, they have one or two special features. The chief peculiarity is the village tower. The tower, generally but not in every case, stands within the village enclosure. Almost all village towers are of rough stone, with or without earth. They are hollow, and have generally one opening in the wall about eight feet from the ground. They seldom seem suited for defence. They are rather watch-towers from which the people in the fields got warning of the approach of bands of Pendharis and other mounted robbers, in time to hurry themselves and their cattle within the shelter of the village walls. Now the need of them is forgotten. They are taken to be a trace of the good old days when life was easy and each village had enough to spare to deck itself with walls and a tower only for appearance's sake.

In Kathiawar every village belongs to one or more proprietors. It either forms part of some state, or it has been assigned to a relative of the chief or to one of his wives, or given in charity or on service tenure, or it may have been divided among a number of shareholders. Whatever the rights of proprietorship, the constitution of the village remains unchanged. Each, even the smallest, has its *patel* or headman, its *kavalдар* or constable, and its *pagi* or tracker. These are the germs of all the village officers who are paid by the state or the inhabitants, and in them rests the executive power of the community.

The average percentage of the classes who make up a village community are, according to Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, two families of carpenters, two of blacksmiths, two of tailors, two of potters, one or two of shoemakers, two of barbers, four of shepherds, eight or ten of *dheds*, three or four of *vanias* and eight or ten of watchmen.

All these classes have to settle the terms of their residence with the chief or proprietor, and have to pay certain taxes according to the nature of their calling, one of the most striking of which is *veth* or unpaid service. As the community increases in number, it draws artisans and mechanics of a higher order to meet its wants. The *patel* is the most important member of the village; his office is hereditary,

and is confined to the leading family of the most important section of the community. In some instances, where the husbandmen are divided into several sections, each section has its own headman.

The headman generally enjoys his land rent-free or on payment of a small quit-rent, and receives many perquisites in the shape of presents of food or complimentary dinners. His duties consist in taking the chief part in all religious ceremonies, in raising subscriptions for general purposes, such as sinking a well or repairing the village wall or pond or temple, or for the entertainment of guests, in protecting the village boundaries, in being answerable for the tracks of all thieves brought within the limits, in providing carts for the public service and in protecting the interests of the community or the state. He has to see that the crops are carried to the village threshing floor, and are there properly heaped until the state has taken its share, that the cultivators do not encroach on one another's lands, and that criminals are not harboured. He is in fact the general referee and the most important member of the small society, and on his temper and judgment in a great measure depend the general well-being of the community. Of late years a police *patel* has been added to the list of the village officials. The office may be held, and in several instances is held, by the hereditary revenue *patel*. His duties are, to report all crimes to the nearest police authority, and to aid the police in discovering offenders and bringing them to justice. The *kavaladar* or constable of the village is the *patel's* henchman and personal assistant. He watches the crops, and sees that they are not carried away by stealth. He also keeps a sharp eye on the grain on the village threshing floor, and sees that the claims of the chief are duly respected. He commands the village watch and trackers, and assigns them their duties; he sees that stray animals are pounded, that the streets are kept clean, that the gates are shut at nightfall, that improper characters do not find shelter in the village office or *chora*, that supplies of grass and wood are provided for guests and travellers and that municipal rules are not broken. He holds land rent-free, and has a

right to a share of each heap of grain. In some villages he receives a fixed salary ; and, when his duties are enlarged, as in the case of a large populous village or town, he becomes a *kotval* or superintendent of the city police.

Pasaitas are the village guards and police ; they are under the general control and superintendence of the constable and headman, and are Muhammadans, Rajputs, Kolis, Ahirs and Mahias or Mers in the parts of the province where those tribes are most numerous. They are appointed by the chief, and hold subsistence lands on service tenure. Their office is generally hereditary, but they can be removed at the chief's pleasure. Some of them, especially the Kolis, are excellent trackers ; they are also the village messengers, and carry communications between the chief and the head of the village. The carpenters, barbers, and tailors, who go under the general name of *vasvayas*, are paid by the rest of the community for ordinary work in kind, and for special work in cash. In some villages they hold rent-free lands. *Dheds* do the ordinary scavengering of each village under the direction of the headman, and, in addition to holding rent-free lands, are entitled to the skins of all animals that die within the village limits, though in some places the chief takes the skins as a perquisite, and farms the collection of them to the highest bidder. Nearly every village of any size has its priest or *gor*, who performs marriage and other ceremonies, and is paid a fee for each ceremony. Another religious Hindu officer is the *vyas* who reads extracts from Hindu mythology. Among Muhammadans, the *kaji* and *mullah* perform similar duties to the *gor* and *vyas*. They are paid in food, clothes or money, according to the people's means.

The Members of the Village Commonwealth.—The village artisans, servants and functionaries are fairly the same throughout the greater part of India. Of course the nature of the village services will be determined to a great extent by the land-tenures, the religions and the form of social economy of the people, as well as the process of centralisation and decentralisation in relation to village administration, but these would represent specific variations of the central type of Indian economic organisation. Their

number also varies from the *barabaluti* in Central India to the *panch paoni* in Chota Nagpur. In every part of India there are always the village carpenter, blacksmith, and potter, so essential for agricultural economy. They make and repair all agricultural implements and domestic utensils, find their own tools and all materials necessary for performing the work, while the villagers supply the raw materials. Then there are the oilman, the goldsmith, the tanner, the barber and the washerman. There are also the schoolmaster and the priest. The latter are sometimes the Hindu priest, the *bhat*, the *joshi* and the *purohit*, or the *mathadhipati* and the *ganachari* in Bombay, or the Muhammadan *maulvi* and the *mullah* in East Bengal, or the evangelist and the catechist in Travancore or the *embranchiri* and the *chettian* in Malabar. In Kangra there are hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and land is granted to them in support of the art. The irrigation man, the *neerghunti* in Mysore or the *madayan* in Tanjore, is important according to the conditions of agriculture, while the *kavalgar*, the watcher of crops and cattle, is an inheritance from a time of disorder. The *kallars* and *maravars* in Southern India, the *pannagars* in Malabar, the *gujars* and the *jats* in the United Provinces, the *chaukidars* in Bengal and the *ramoses* in Bombay play the important part of the private police. The *chamars* and *chuhars* of the Panjab correspond to the *tothis* and *talaris* of the south, village scavengers and messengers, who are largely employed to go on messages when needed, to attend on government officials who come into the village and to sweep the lanes and remove impurities. Tanning is done by the *chamar* in Bengal and in the Panjab. He is given the carcasses of village cattle and his wife holds the office of village midwife. The *barga* or worshipper of the indigenous deities in the Central Provinces corresponds to the *kolkan*, the village potter and worshipper of Mariamman in the south. Thus the above descriptions, culled from distinct gazetteers of the organisation of rural artisans and servants in different parts of India, give us the regional type, with its species and specific varieties, as an interesting order and system in economic morphology.

Payment of Labour.—Everywhere these members of the village community are paid by giving them grants of land free of any rent, or in shares out of the common heap of grain at the threshing floor or from the individual harvest of every villager. This system is particularly suited to an agricultural country, having the advantage of being unaffected by any rise in the price of food-grains. Whatever the fluctuation in the price of these, the labourer's wage remains the same. The characteristic structure of rural economic organisation has evolved its particular methods of remuneration of labour, sometimes of rent-free land, and by allowances in grain and perquisites in kind, as well as the methods of exchange through a long chain of peripatetic dealers, pedlers and hawkers of wares and raw materials, and their emporiums, the fairs and weekly markets, where producers, middlemen and consumers can meet periodically and combine trade and business with social and religious ends.

It should also be noted that the customary dues of labour are not so fixed as is often supposed. We have already seen how in Bombay the rates of wages are variable. In the Panjab, it should be noted that the economic services performed by the labourers and their dues vary from village to village, and in a particular village are liable to revision at any time.

The entries in the village records are little more than statements of what tasks are performed by the *kamins*, and what they receive from the proprietors at the present time. On a claim being made by either party, it would be open for the other to show that the terms of the agreement had been altered in practice. This is why in taking down notes on the subject of dues and services in different villages, I had to overcome the fears and suspicions both of the artisans and the villagers, who were very cautious, lest my entries should be legal evidence and alter the existing claims.

Over and above the dues assigned to the labourers for their work, they have the privilege of being allowed residence in the village. The performance of the tasks is an incidence of the residence, and not a personal liability of the *kamin* ;

and the *kamin* can free himself at any time by leaving the village.

The residence in a more or less isolated group, and the settled habits of the agricultural population of India, have determined the organisation of labour, which is remunerated by allotments of land in secure tenure held on conditions of service by the village functionaries, and more or less free from all demands. Should any of these village functionaries who enjoyed *sarkar* lands or were in receipt of portions of grain (*mura-batta*) and bundles of straw (*hore-hullu*) misconduct themselves, they would be dismissed, and another member of the same family would succeed.

Blight of Capitalistic Government.—This fair fabric of communal industry has been a victim to the forces of capitalistic landlordism and revenue-farming. With the abolition of the old custom of the state grain-share, arose the practice of fixing lump sums in cash as revenue for which various contractors speculated. Lands were mortgaged and sold to bankers and others who advanced or were security for the revenue. The headman declined in importance, elements of oppression and hard bargaining were introduced, and the inner harmony of the social economy of the self-governing village and the *punchayet* system has been attacked. The decline of the *punchayet* has gone hand in hand with the disintegration of the communal employment of labour when it is only the headman and the accountant who are recognised as government servants and who are paid regular dues proportionate to the revenue of the village; while other functionaries, whose services are very important economically, are neglected in the scheme of administrative organisation. When these latter do not get any support from government, the *ryots* deny their claims and glaring grievances get no redress. It is true that in some cases the administrative officers are authorised to deal summarily with cases of non-payment of the *mirarsis*, *marahs*, *russooms*, *swatantrams* (shares of grain as they are differently called) to the village functionaries, but such a rule remains a dead letter, the revenue officers seeming to be apathetic or overworked. Those parts of the village

community which are necessary to government have been upheld, the headman, the accountant and the messengers with their official holdings of land or monthly salaries. Still the priest, the astrologer and the *mullah* have probably obtained *inam* fields—we may almost say “glebe land”—on which to support themselves. The *mahar* and the *pariah*, the lowest among the servants, can in many parts of India enforce his right to a share in the harvest. The *vatiyan* or the sweeper has his hereditary land, and so has the village watchman where his services are indispensable, even in the existing system of administration. The barber and the washerman are still in great vogue, notably the former, who is important at betrothals and marriages. The shoemaker or cobbler plies his craft as long as there are cattle in the villages to die for him to appropriate. The carpenter and the blacksmith who fashion agricultural implements, the potter who furnishes the household utensils, such as the water-pots for the Persian wheels used in irrigation, the cowherd, etc., whose services are indispensable in agricultural economy, are still paid by grain-fees, with allowances of a bundle of wheat, barley or *jowar* tied by a string of three straws’ length (*tirmanī* in the Panjab, *mura-kultina hore* in Mysore). *Inam* lands are taken over into possession by the government without a due recognition of the services the original village craftsmen and servants perform; and while in the joint or landlord village (Panjab, United Provinces and Central Provinces) the common land for grazing and wood-cutting that belongs to the village is broken up for cultivation on account of decreasing fertility and increasing pressure on the soil, in the *ryotwari* village (Bombay, Madras) the waste outside for grave-yard, cattle-shed, pond, grave, which is now government land, is broken up because this means more revenue. What is necessary above all to-day is a thorough examination from village to village of the claims of the economic services rendered by the staff of village artisans and servants, and of their capability of adaptation to modern, social and economic needs; and, if the rehabilitation of the *punchayet* is part of a settled administrative policy, nothing can more

help in its development and the co-ordination of its activities than the recognition by the state of the responsible status and privileges of the *punchayet* and other indigenous village bodies, assemblies and groups in the exercise of their immemorial function of local self-government and economic management.

Modernised Village Government of Japan.—Nothing can better illustrate the excellent results achieved by the utilisation of indigenous rural organisations and institutions than the rural progress of Japan. Rural progress in Japan has been scientifically guided and has followed a symmetrical plan of campaign. Till recently the Japanese administrative unit was the village or, as we call it in India, the *mouza*. This unit, cramped and narrow, has been replaced by *aza* groups, containing as many as nineteen villages. These local associations have their own measure of self-government under a council of village elders and enjoy considerable powers of taxation to meet expenditure upon works of local improvement. They are the points at which the agricultural, educational, co-operative, irrigation and engineering experts of government impinge upon village life; and there is no doubt that the sense of association and responsibility thus fostered has given a powerful impetus to the development of Japanese resources. It has been found that the enlargement of the parish and the creation of a new responsibility make an antidote to the stagnation produced by individualism, prejudice and narrowness of ideas—in short, by the peasant spirit. Every village group has three or four primary schools, its own agricultural association, council chamber and circulating library; and 80 per cent. of Japanese villages have co-operative societies, more than half of which are for credit and are worked on the principles of unlimited liability.¹

It has been already observed that in their Central Asian provinces the Russians have been careful to preserve the local institutions of the Eastern peoples and to profit by their inherent ability for self-government. In the Russian

¹ "The Problem of the Co-operative Movement," by H. R. Crosthwaite, *Agricultural Journal of India*, Vol. XIV.

administration both the permanent village (*volost*) and the nomad village (*aul*) still continue to elect their headman and elders. The judges of the village courts still continue to decide petty, civil and criminal cases. These as well as the *mirabs* who characteristically enough correspond to the South Indian *neerghuntis* and *madayans*, officials who allot the water supply for purposes of irrigation, are still elected by manhood suffrage and recognised as parts of the administration. Similarly in the Dutch Indies government regulations provide for the self-government of villages under their headman, called *loerah*, assisted, as in the Indian villages, by a little staff of functionaries such as a secretary, night and field guards and priests. Local self-administration and the ubiquitous *punchayet* are among the East's rich and successful experiments in communal life and organisation and the rehabilitation of these will be attended with much better results than the introduction of ready-made systems* from abroad. The strength of the communal consciousness and its efficacy for reconstruction are shown by the belief still prevalent among certain castes in Indian villages that their god is present in their caste *punchayet* meetings and that any lying or prevarication will be attended with supernatural penalties. *Panch men parameshwar*—the Most High inspires the *punchayet*—says the well-known proverb.

CHAPTER XII.

GUILD ORGANISATION IN URBAN INDUSTRY.

Classes and Functions of Guilds.—The communal type of organisation in India is not only characteristic of rural life and labour but also of urban industry, and future reconstruction must build directly on a foundation of pre-existent industrial groups and the popular custom that governs their relations.

Where more than a few families of artisans and workmen have settled in a village or city, the guild organisation develops, but this varies in coherence and solidarity in different places. As in the village community there is among the peasants a council presided over by its elders and regulating the communal concerns, so in every town, not only among the general traders and merchants but among the artisans and craftsmen, there is a guild prescribing trade rules and settling caste and trade disputes under the guidance of the *mahajan* and the *seth*. Sometimes the guild is nothing but a temporary or permanent union of caste people plying the same craft and trade, and framing general rules of conduct and social morality and observances; while sometimes it regulates trade or wages, the conditions of employment of labour and the use of machinery, as well as the education of apprentices and the protection and maintenance of the destitute and the helpless. In the latter case the caste *punchayet* not only decides petty disputes and cases of misbehaviour, but becomes in addition not unlike the modern trade-union. In some cities the trade council is distinct from the caste council; for example, in Ahmedabad there are four castes of carpenters and, therefore, four assemblies for caste purposes, but only one carpenters' *mahajan*; so the

silk *mashru* weavers' *mahajan* in the same city contains both Kunbis and Vanias. Many more instances might be cited. In the Panjab some of the classes of artisans, such as *lohars*, *jolahas*, *telis*, *dhobis*, are more trade-guilds than tribes, and a family giving up its traditional occupation and taking to another would, after a generation or two, be considered to belong to the caste whose common occupation it had adopted, so that the different castes are not divided from each other by fixed and lasting boundaries. Still, so strong is the tendency to follow the ancestral occupation, and so closely are the persons belonging to each such caste or trade-guild inter-connected by community of occupation, which generally carries with it inter-marriage and similarity of social customs, that these well-recognised divisions are of real importance in the framework of society.

In Surat and Ahmedabad, Jaipur and Delhi, Benares and Dacca, Conjeevaram and Madura, the guild organisation, and the powers exercised by the *vania*, the *seth*, the *mistri* and the *mahajan* deserve the most careful investigation. In different regions and among different occupations the solidarity of the industrial and mercantile guilds and their capabilities for self-government have varied, and thus the recognition of their place and status at the hands both of ruling authorities and of the community as a whole have been different. Again, a flourishing guild, which regularly derives its fee-income from monthly or annual collections of a certain percentage on profits and spends it on charity, feeding the poor, *pinjrapols*, *dharmshalas*, tanks, shade-trees, cattle-troughs, fountains, supply of rice, *ghee*, oil and other perquisites to temples, anointing and scents for the bath of the god, procession at festivals, etc., naturally commands greater prestige than a guild which contributes its small income derived from occasional subscriptions to the expenses of a village or city festival and amusement. Similarly the jurisdiction of the guild and its power to resist outside competition vary. In a small village, the guild is all-powerful, and the caste coincides with the guild, lending it a double authority. In cities where there is a large number of workmen, artisans and traders who do not belong to

the guild, the power diminishes unless, as is very often the case, different guilds mutually support one another and form a loose union to protect themselves from the forces of competition and exploitation from outside. The federation of groups of guilds has been a characteristic development in Indian economic history.

In the Bombay Presidency the Komatis, who are general traders and merchants, are bound together as a body and their disputes are settled at caste meetings, under their hereditary headman or *mahajan*. Important questions are referred to their chief religious head or *Guru Bhaskaracharyya*, a *Yajurvedi Apastambh* Brahman, the deputy of *Shankaracharyya*. He has four monasteries at Bodhan and Nander in the Nizam's country, near Hampi 36 N.W. of Belari, and near Pendgaon in Maiswi. He occasionally visits his followers. The penalty of breach of caste-rules and of trade morality is a heavy fine, which goes to the *Guru* and objects of charity. Among the Lingayat Vantias the power of the guild shows no signs of failing. All disputes are settled at meetings of the *shetya*, the *mathadipati* and the castemen. If the chief *Guru* is present, he presides. The meetings are held in religious houses or *mathas*. The *shetya* is the most influential hereditary headman. He had formerly privileges and rights equal to those of a police *patel*. What a *patel* is to a village, a *shetya* is to a Lingayat *peth* or ward of a town. The *mathadipati* opens the proceedings by stating the object of the meeting. The question is discussed, and the majority of votes carries the day. The offender is fined, and until the fine is paid is put out of caste. If he is to be let back he has to pay a certain sum to different religious houses in the town, gifts to *jangams*, and in rare cases he has to give a caste feast. Similarly Gujrat Vantias, who are scattered in small numbers throughout the presidency, spend the fines levied for caste and trade offences in charity and on caste-feasts. The Kunam or Kunbi Vantias have a powerful trade-guild and regard their headman, the *shetya*, with great respect. He attends marriages, and the fathers of the bride and bridegroom present him with betel and mark his brow with sandal

paste. His office is hereditary, and traders consult him on trade questions. He fixes the market rates, and all members of the community are forbidden to undersell on pain of fine or loss of caste, as determined by the *punchayet*. The merchants' and bankers' guild, *sahukars'* guild and also that of retail-dealers and traders, have their ramifications throughout the smaller cities, and they have their organisation to collect and apply the common funds.

In most Cutch towns there is a merchants' guild, *mahajan*. At the seaports some of its members are appointed by the state to fix on insurance questions the amount to be paid for damage to the ship or cargo. Their awards are respected by both parties. The guild derives an income from a tax known by the name of *dharmo layo*. This is levied by the state along with the excise duties, and its proceeds are handed to the guild manager. The income is spent partly in offerings to the *Valabhacharya maharajas* and partly, in the support of animal homes. Most of the leading members of the guilds are Vantias and Bhatias.

In Konkan some of the larger towns have officers called *shetes*, whose duties in past times appear to have corresponded closely to those of the Gujrat trade-guilds. These *shetes* were hereditary officers enjoying certain rights, privileges and perquisites, and with respect to the market, *peth* held a position similar to that held by the *patels* in the rural portions of the town. Throughout Gujrat in all the chief centres of trade some of the Vania capitalists, under the name of *mahajans* or great men, form a merchant guild. The guild fixes the rates of exchange and discount, and levies fees on certain transactions, spending the proceeds on humane and religious objects. The head of their community, the *nagarseth* or city merchant, was formerly a man of much power and importance, though of late years, with the decay of his functions, his influence has been much reduced. For the settlement of social disputes, each subdivision of Vantias has in each town one or more leading families. The representative of this family, under the name of *patel*, chooses some four or five members from the community and with their help decides the question in dispute.

The members of most associated trades hold a yearly guild-feast, meeting the cost either by a special subscription or from the common fund. The chief occasion when one member feasts the whole body is when he joins the guild.

In Kathiawar, goldsmiths, carpenters, coppersmiths, tailors, blacksmiths, potters, barbers, shoemakers and other craftsmen, being generally of one caste, have each a caste organisation or *mahajan*, which to some extent take the place of craft-guilds. Dealers in cotton, grain, groceries, piece-goods and other articles belong to several castes, and form a trade-guild distinct from their caste organisation. This trade-guild is the head *mahajan*, and is composed of four or five of the leading local merchants. These leading men have the title of *sethia*. There is no regular or hereditary post of head merchant or *nagarseth* in Kathiawar, though the title is sometimes used out of respect to a trader of marked wealth or unusual personal influence. Social disputes are settled by caste councils or *mahajans*. If the decision of the caste council is not obeyed, the defaulter is either fined or turned out. Fines recovered from defaulters form a caste fund, which is used either in giving dinners to the caste, or in buying cooking and drinking vessels. Disputes about time bargains and other complicated trade questions are generally referred to the head *mahajan* or trade-guild. If the decision of the trade-guild is not obeyed, the defaulters, as a rule, are cut off from all trade intercourse, and in addition are sometimes turned out of caste. In many cases the trade-guild levies a tax on trade and manufactures, and, under the management of the head guild, spends the proceeds in feeding the poor, in supporting animal homes or *pinjrapols*, and in building rest-houses or *dharmshalas*, cattle troughs or *havadas*, and water-sheds or *parabs*. To decide questions in which the whole industrial class is interested the several caste-guilds meet, and, where the question is one of taxation, go to the local chief to redress their grievance. In some cases, a man who takes to a craft different from that practised by his father, has to pay a sum in charity or *dharmada* on joining the guild.

Guild Federation.—The federation of craftsmen's guilds and their general efficiency are best illustrated from the guild organisation in the city of Madura. There the Vishwakarmakars are represented by (1) *kollun* (blacksmith), (2) *takshan* (carpenter), (3) *kormar* (coppersmith), (4) *koltakshan* (stonecarver) and (5) *tattar* (goldsmith). The last is divided into (a) Telugu, (b) Southern, (c) Madhyaka sub-castes. Each of these different castes and sub-castes has a headman, called *nattamai*, who does not hold his position by hereditary right, but holds a life-office. Then there are five *karriasthans* for blacksmiths and carpenters, and three more for coppersmiths, stonecarvers and goldsmiths. They are subordinate to the headman. There are three *jadipillais*, who are servants for all these castes. The *jadipillai* does not get any monthly wages, but is given fees and presents on occasions of marriage and death, etc. (*barthanai*). The chief headman of all these "seven tribes and five castes" is called the *jadiperiadanakaran*, and his council is called *panchabrahmasabha*. Its authority is chiefly exercised in deciding marriage disputes and punishing social misbehaviour, in collecting and applying the common funds in the management of the temple of Kamakshi and of a procession at the close of Dasahra, and generally in taking cognisance of any matter which concerns the members as a craft.

The general meeting of all these industrial castes is called the *mahasabha*, which meets under the presidency of the chief headman at the Kamakshi temple during the Dasahra. It is only at such meetings that the chief headman is elected. Ordinarily, however, this meeting decides which caste is to undertake the expenses of the different days of festivals, what subscription should be given from the common funds, what would be the arrangements for processions, etc. The headman of each of the separate industrial castes is elected in the meeting of the particular caste people, at which the *nattamais* of the other castes also attend. The *jadipillai* summons them and notifies the object in time of the meeting. The chief headman and all other headmen suggest names, which are announced by the *jadipillai*.

The *sabha* expresses assent by silence. If there are objections, the *jadipillai* announces the next name for acceptance. Among the goldsmiths of the Telugu sub-castes, one of the *jadipillais* is a woman, the widow of the former *jadipillai*, who died issueless. Forty years ago, the goldsmiths' guild fixed wages at 12 as. per pagoda weight of gold and allowed wastage of a grain for one pagoda weight. Even now the guild of the *kasukara chettis* decides the prices of gold-bars and of the sovereign from day to day.

Guild Trade Regulations.—But it is among the Vaishyas, general traders and merchants, among whom the most incontestably useful function of the guild, namely, that of arbitrating in trade disputes, is found in Madura. There are also written agreements fixing the prices of commodities, and general regulations maintaining a high standard of trade morality. Reports of cheating, complaints of false weights and false measurements, as well as disputes regarding monetary claims and breaches of contracts, are considered by the guild, and even now there are instances of social ostracism and punishments by fine for violation of guild rules. False measurement may go to the extent of a half measure in a bag of fifty-four measures of cereals other than paddy and a quarter measure in case of paddy. Any case of deficiency beyond this must be compensated for by the trader according to the guild rule. There is an agreement in writing about this. An arbitrator, who is also a shopkeeper, is appointed to judge a case like this, when a customer makes complaint to the *periadanakaran* or *kanakan*. There is one *periadanakaran* each among traders in cereals, traders in paddy, dealers in bamboo, grocers, dealers in cocoanuts, dealers in cloth, *natukatachettis*, dealers in plantain and dealers in flowers. Any trade disputes relating to the trades in these commodities is decided by the *periad-anakaran* of the particular trade, who meets with three or four *punchayatdars*; such *periadanakarans* are elected by the particular group of traders, Brahmans or Vaishyas, irrespectively of their castes. It is also a guild rule that all beggars of the city who come to the *periadanakaran* or accountant in a particular trade shall receive from him chits,

which, when produced, will entitle them to alms from the shops comprised under the particular guild. Among the *nadars*, there is a written agreement that onion, coriander, cardamom, clove, dried ginger, and mustard should be first cleansed and then sold, and that there should be no false measurement. At present, the guilds confine themselves to effecting an amicable arrangement; and, though they never attempt to enforce their decision about prices, the parties interested generally acquiesce.

Guild Accountant and Funds.—The *periadanakaran* or *nattamai* is held in high regard in the industrial communities. His presence is necessary for all social and domestic ceremonies, on which occasions he receives presents of clothing and perquisites. Beyond occasional fines the lesser guilds have few sources of income. The wealthier guilds, composed of the artisans and traders in the larger towns, draw considerable incomes—(1) from fines and entrance fees; (2) from fees on quantity of merchandise purchased or sold, and this is called *mahimai* and it is a *nattamai* who directs such collections; (3) from fees and contributions on auspicious or inauspicious occasions; (4) from land; (5) from the auction sale of the right to open a shop, or from fees levied on those who wish to do business on holidays; (6) from fees levied on the settlement of disputes regarding monetary claims; and (7) from a percentage on the profits of exchange bills, *hundis*, and on gambling bargains. Such communal funds are usually spent to support orphans, helpless widows, on *choultris* and *chhatrams* or on food kitchens, *sadavratas* and water *pandals* or on other works of charity, as well as for the maintenance of the communal temple and on temple processions and festivals.

The same sort of organisation prevails among the shepherds (*jadavas*) and butchers (*kasapukars*) as well as amongst milkmen (*konars*). Among the milkmen there is a hereditary division of streets of the city of Madura for milking and grazing cows. There are two streets for each *konar*, who employs his own servants. All other milkmen are strictly forbidden from poaching upon his quarters. If, on account of a servant's negligence, a cow or a calf is lost,

the milkman of the ward must compensate. The *mirasi* right of streets can be sold or mortgaged at Rs.200 or Rs.300 by the milkmen. The guild has the following officials:

- (1) The *nattamai* or headman.
- (2) The *kanaka* or accountant, who receives a salary of Rs.10.
- (3) The *thandal* or bill-collector.

There are seven or nine *thalaivars* or members of the *punchayet*. There is the communal *ramayan chawadi* with associated Krishna Temple. This guild has accumulated a sum of Rs.50,000 out of fines for social misbehaviour, as well as fees on marriages, etc. This sum has been invested in trade. The community is a close corporation and is quite prosperous; some members have become agriculturists, traders and money-lenders. As custom is strictly limited by hereditary division, the field for work in the milkmen's own calling is very much circumscribed.

The guild organisation is not limited only to Hindu artisans. Muhammadan blacksmiths, for instance, in Madura, have their own guild with its *peria natamdar*, *chhunna natamdar*, senior and junior headmen, *peria kudithanekarar*, crier, and *modian* of the mosque, who exercises the function of the *jadipillai* in other craftsmen's guilds. The *punchayet* settles all kinds of disputes, and maintains a mosque and an Arabic school as well as gives alms to travellers and strangers. On the 27th day of *Ramazan* collections are made for the festival and any surplus is given to the teacher. There are also fees on occasions of marriage, circumcision, etc.

Guild Objects.—We conclude with a description of the *sourashtra sabha* of Madura, which is an expansion and development of the old guild of this compact body of artisans and traders in adaptation to the larger economic and cultural needs of to-day. Its objects as they appear in the memorandum of association are:

(a) To manage a school to enable members of the *Sourashtra* Community to receive on moderate terms a sound liberal, general and technical education.

(b) To manage the temple known as the "Madura

Sri-Prasanna Venkateswara Swami's Temple," and contribute towards its maintenance by constructing, repairing, and preserving buildings in connection therewith, making jewels, vehicles and other things necessary therefor and conducting the festivals thereof.

(c) To found charitable institutions such as orphanages, hospitals, poor-houses, *choultris*, water-sheds, and other things of a like nature for the good of the *Sourashtra* Community.

(d) To give succour to the suffering poor and the "maimed, the lame and the blind," in the *Sourashtra* Community.

(e) To give pecuniary grants in aid of *upanayanams* (thread-marriages) to the helpless in the *Sourashtra* Community.

(f) To erect such works of utility as bathing *ghauts*, wells, water-fountains, and other works of utility for the benefit of the *Sourashtra* Community.

(g) To promote the social, moral and intellectual advancement of the *Sourashtra* Community.

(h) To fix and raise subscriptions known as "*mahimais*" in such manner as the association may from time to time think fit.

(i) To sell, improve, manage, develop, lease, mortgage, dispose of, turn to account or otherwise deal with all or any part of the property of the association.

Guild Dues.—The paying members shall, on the sale proceeds, contribute to the funds of the association as stated below :

(a) Local manufacturers of cloths and dyers of foreign piece goods through brokers—1 pie per rupee (brokers shall contribute at the above rate on the total invoice amount).¹

(b) Dealers in cloths of Benares, Cashmere, Calcutta, Kumbakonam, Kornad, Conjeevaram, Salem, Tanjore, Swamimalai, Pilliarpoliem and other *mofussil* stations—half a pie per rupee.

(c) Dealers in gold thread—4 pies per high standard marc.

(d) Dealers in gold thread—one pie per low high standard marc.

¹ 4 pies = 1 anna = 1d. ; 16 annas = 1 rupee = 1s. 4d.

(e) Wholesale dealers in cotton yarn and in foreign piece goods—half an anna per 100 rupees.

(f) Retail dealers in white cotton yarn—half a pie per bundle.

(g) Retail dealers in coloured cotton yarn—1 pie per bundle.

(h) Dealers in locally dyed cotton yarn—half a pie per rupee.

(i) Dealers in alizarine dye stuffs—1 anna per barrel.

(j) Dealers in aniline colours—1 anna per lb.

(k) Dealers in dyed silk—4 pies per seer.

(l) Dealers in different oils—1 anna per 100 rupees.

(m) Dealers in different grains and other sundry articles of consumption—1 anna per 100 rupees.

(n) Dealers in iron—1 anna per 100 rupees.

(Stake-holders in chits shall contribute a quarter of an anna per rupee on the amount of stake.)

The guild organisation in this case may be said to be less compact and more loosely co-ordinated, comprehending the different classes of the *sourashtras*, artisans, middlemen, traders in silk cloth as well as general merchants in the name of the same caste. They exhibit an unusually strong *esprit-de-corps*, which has stood them in good stead in their weaving, which is more scientifically carried on, better organised and in a more flourishing condition than elsewhere.

The Mahajan and its Powers.—In Khandesh cloth and turban weavers, oil-extractors, husbandmen, bangle-makers, potters, carpenters, goldsmiths, barbers, washermen, tailors, dyers and oil-sellers have caste organisations, which, to some extent, take the place of craft-guilds. Each caste has a number of leading men, *mahajans*, subordinate to a head leader, *chaudhuri mahajan*. In Baroda every town and, in some sub-divisions, every large village has its guild for each trade, but this guild or association of traders is not termed *mahajan*, but *nyat* or caste. The Vantias and Brahmans form the *mahajan*, to which all trade-guilds are subordinate. Still, though all Brahmans and Vantias are considered members of the *mahajan*, when meetings of such

associations are convened to settle some disputed question of trade or practice, only those who are termed the *seths* or heads of each caste are invited or entitled to vote. In every town where there is a *mahajan*, there are also one or more *nagarseths* or city chiefs. These are generally Vantias. There are also *chakla-seths*, that is, heads of the Vantias or Brahmans who sell cloth, grocery, grain, etc.

Every *mahajan* has a *kotval*, whose duty it is to collect the members of the *mahajan* when they are wanted. He receives no regular pay, but is entitled to certain privileges or gifts. On imports he receives for every cart of grain, salt or molasses a quarter of a seer of the article imported; for every packload of molasses and salt a quarter of a seer. On occasions of caste feasts, he is entitled to a seer and a half of *ghco* or *sidha*, consisting of flour, rice, pulse, salt, clarified butter, sugar and the other condiments that go to make up a single meal. On the occasion of a marriage he is paid 7 pies by the bride and bridegroom. His office of *kotval* does not debar him from trading on his own account.

There is a material difference between the authority of a *mahajan* and that of a trade-guild. The former is general and paramount, and the latter only special; that is, the authority of a trade-guild extends over those who belong to that particular guild, while the authority of a *mahajan* extends over all trade-guilds. It is the highest authority in matters of trade, and, as far as Hindu traders are concerned, in matters of caste. A disaffected trader may appeal against his guild to the *mahajan*, and the decision of the *mahajan* becomes law both to him and to his guild. The highest penalty that a *mahajan*, can inflict is to outcaste a trader, i.e., "to put an end to all intercourse between him and the caste to which he may belong," and he will then be left to starve, if need be. In the case of a trader who is not a Hindu, though the *mahajan* cannot touch his caste, he is virtually outcasted, since the grocer will not sell him salt, or the grain-dealer grain, or the cloth-dealer cloth, etc. He must, in fact, leave the place and seek refuge somewhere else, or abide by the decision of the *mahajan* whatever it may be.

The following fifty-four public holidays are considered in

the *kadi* division as days of obligation, when traders are forbidden by the *mahajan* to carry on business: The twenty-four elevenths or *Ekadashis* of the year; the twelve dark fifteenths or *Amavasyas* of the year; two *Diwali* holidays (October-November); one *Dev Diwali* (November); one *Shivaratri* (February-March); two *Holi* (March); one *Ramnavami* (March-April); one *Akshaya Tritiya* or *Akhatrij* (April-May); one *Baley* (July-August); one *Gokal Ashtami* (July-August); eight *Pachusan* or *Shravan* (August-September).

The *mahajan* has the authority to inflict fines, and the fines thus collected go to the keeping up of the *pinjrapol*, or asylum for animals. Every town has such an asylum, and some of these establishments keep a room for insects called *jivatkhana*.

In every town, where there is a *mahajan*, there is a place appointed for the *mahajan* to meet. It is generally the place where the customs duties are collected. If any one has a complaint to prefer to the *mahajan*, he resorts to the usual place of meeting and sits there fasting. The complainant will neither eat nor drink nor move from the place until his complaint is heard (*satyagraha*). Notice of this is conveyed to the heads or *seths* of the *mahajan* by the *kotwal*, on which they all assemble and proceed with the case. Trade-guilds have also certain appointed places at which to meet.

The associations of *sahukars*, known as *mahajans*, alone have funds. The trade-guilds have no sources of revenue, except some occasional fines, which are devoted to the service of the particular god worshipped by the fining guild. The two chief sources of revenue of the *mahajan* are fees; on the mortgage of a house 8 annas per cent. of its value, and on the sale of a house Re.1 per cent. of its value. The amounts thus collected, as well as the fines, go to the keeping up of the local *pinjrapol*.

City Chiefs.—*Nagarseths* have various privileges granted them by the state. Thus, the *nagarseth* of the city of Pattan has a village given him in *inam*. The *nagarseth* of Vadnagar is entitled to a certain percentage on exports and

imports. The *nagarseth* of Sidhpur is entitled to import articles free of customs duty. Similar privileges have been extended to other *nagarseths*.

Punchayets.—In the United Provinces, the decisions of the artisans' *punchayets* are generally pronounced by the *chaudhuri* or headman of the craft or trade, an officer who is sometimes elected by the *bhaibrathari* or the brotherhood, but is often hereditary. Breaches of guild rules and trade offences are punished with fines. In Haldaur in the district of Bijnor, United Provinces, a *punchayet* of sugar-refiners is held annually which settles the price to be paid to the cultivators for raw sugar and the rate so fixed is accepted as a standard over the whole district. In Benares the silk-weavers, gold wire-makers, dealers in gold threads and other artisans and traders form close industrial corporations, which exercise a general supervision of the conditions of apprenticeship and arbitrate in craft and trade disputes.

Indian Communal System Misunderstood in the West.—There have also been developed a good deal of division of labour, specialisation of occupations and localisation in the Indian communal organisation of industry. In the organisation of craftsmanship, different grades of work are allotted to different classes of labour, and sometimes industrial villages, composed of settlements of artisans and labourers, specialise themselves in particular industries and manufactures. The prevailing ideas about the isolation and stagnation of the Indian village system are due to the application of the logic of the Western economist to Indian economic conditions. In Western Europe, till the industrial revolution, villages were more or less isolated and had to supply their own wants, because communications were not sufficiently developed. In India, though the village has been self-sufficient so far as foodstuffs and the necessities of life are concerned, it has imported all the luxuries it wanted from outside, as it is doing even now. The products of the cottages and workshops of some industrial villages have been well known throughout India, and before the days of steam power were exported to China and the Far East, as well as the ports of the Red Sea and the Mediter-

anean. Thus the Indian village system is essentially different from that about which the economist talks so glibly. In India the village has existed and has thrived independently by the side of the city, each supporting the other. The settled habits of the population, the instincts of attachment to the soil and to the family altar, the love for a life in nature in a scheme of humanised and socialised industry, have determined the specific type of Indian agrarian economy, and the prosperity and political power of towns and cities have never been able to eclipse the self-government of the village, the foundation of Indian polity and the self-direction of industry and agriculture within the village, the foundation of Indian economics.

Antiquity of Guilds.—Beginning with the employment of a little staff of village artisans and servants by the village community, characteristically developing into the organisation of guilds of artisans, and the federation of groups of industrial and mercantile guilds, the Indian industrial system has still preserved its main features, which have developed in an age-long process of socio-economic evolution, and now awaits reconstruction in adaptation to the needs of modern scientific industry and commerce. References to communal organisation of agricultural and industrial economy are frequently met with in the records of the past. The simple village corporation, which is called *barabaluti* or *ayagar*, and which has been described above, is met with in old South Indian inscriptions. Thus in inscription No. 112, Sira Taluk (dated 1720), the Mogul Padshah's *subadar* gives to the headman (*gauda*) of Hosur Sthala the *mirasi* of his place after consulting the twelve *ayagars* of the village. In a still older inscription, Sira 41 (dated 1544), we find that the *maha-mandalesvara* gives the *sasana* to the barbers;—"Whereas formerly we remitted to you tax, tribute, alms and the five dues—we now grant to you, along with the twelve *ayagars* in the country, a *svamya* under the tank of" Imprecation, saying that those who take away this grant will at last be born as children of barbers. Thus the ruling authority recognised the importance of the functions exercised in the social economy by the twelve *ayagars* as well

as by the *gauda* and the village assembly. In an inscription of about the middle of the tenth century we find the record of a gift of land by the village assembly to a private person on account of a boat employed for clearing the tank of silt. The operation is fully described ; 140 baskets of earth each with a capacity to hold 6 marakkal (i.e., about 200 cubic feet) of earth, were to be taken out of the tank and deposited on the *bund* daily. The establishment comprised a supervision who received the wages of $1\frac{1}{2}$ kuruni of paddy per diem and under him six labourers who were full-time workmen, and, therefore, paid higher wages, viz., 1 paddakku of paddy per head per diem for both food and clothing ; a carpenter and blacksmith for repairing the boat, each of whom got annually $2\frac{1}{2}$ kalam of paddy ; and the fishermen who supplied wood for repairs to the boat and got 2 kalam of paddy annually. The village assembly had to get the land cultivated and to pay for the whole process out of the income. If they failed to do it, the then reigning king could fine them and got it done.¹ In India it is characteristic that the public works, the religious endowments and the imperative civic and social obligations are mostly assigned or entrusted to village assemblies, or artisan and trade-guilds and corporations, whose functions extend to every sphere of communal life.

Another South Indian inscription (S. I. *Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I) records that the villagers' assembly of Ukkal sold 300 kuli of land and five water levers (*jalanjantra*) to a servant of the king, who assigned this land for the maintenance of two boats plying on the village tank. Similarly No. 15 of the Nasik inscriptions records how in order to provide medicines for the sick of the *samgha* of merchants of whatever sect and origin dwelling in this monastery on Mount Trirasmī a perpetual endowment has been invested for all time to come with the guilds dwelling (at Govardhana), viz., in the hands of the guild of *kulanikas* (? *kulala*—potter), 1,000 *karsapanas* of the guild of *odayantrikas* (? from *udayantara*, i.e., workers fabricating hydraulic engines), 2,000 of the guild of . . . 500 of the guild of oil-millers (*tilapīśaka*).²

¹ Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji's *Local Government in Ancient India*.

² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XIII

THE COMMUNAL ORGANISATION OF AUTONOMOUS ECONOMIC GROUPS.

Features of Indian Communal Organisation of Industry.—The characteristics of the Indian communal organisation of industry thus described may be enumerated as follows :

1. Industrial and other kinds of work and labour which are of fundamental social importance, and which lie or may lie at the basis of general industry and social well-being, are controlled by local self-governing groups. The social interests receive the greatest attention and there is the utmost simplicity of management.

2. The needs of the community are calculated, and the labourers and workers are engaged and entrusted with, the duty of satisfying the specific needs. They are permitted to charge a standard rate of wages, but required to keep up the services to a certain standard demanded by the community. They are paid not by the job, but by customary fees for the service generally. It is not piecework or competitive wages, but fair wages determined according to an ethical standard. Five seers of grain at each harvest will roughly represent the customary, normal or ethical wages corresponding to the plane of living of the labourer's family. This is for the normal or customary unit of economic services. Extra work, or work which requires special skill or dexterity, is always remunerated separately.

The great objection to co-operative societies is that they are anxious only to increase the common profit and do not adequately remunerate the labourers. The village commonwealth in India not only controls industry in the interests

of consumers, but is also a natural guardian of the rights of producers. Thus it combines the functions of a co-operative society and a trade-union.

3. The labourers have not to seek employment, and they do not compete with one another for securing jobs which are already fixed for them. The elimination of competition and conflict carries with it the cost of all the useless activities prompted by that conflict.

Work which requires special skill, such as iron-work, woodwork, leather-work, dyeing and weaving, secures important economies when custom is sure. Isolated artisans competing for jobs and finding work now and then would mean waste in everything.

4. There is a large saving in raw material and capital when labour and special skill are fully utilised. It is impossible for a single household to engage the services of a Brahman, a watchman, a carpenter, an irrigation man or a supervisor of field labourers. The whole village combines its wants and can thus arrange for their satisfaction, in a manner impossible with individual bargaining. The sweeper, the messenger, the guardsman, the irrigation-man, the supervisor of the village servants, and, in fact, the majority of labourers, are village employees, whose services could not have been secured without the villagers' co-operation.

5. The organisation of industry by a community of consumers is in the interest of all as consumers. It is a system of industry which contains all the elements that are vital in schemes of collective ownership of the means of production and co-operative production as well as distribution. There are the control of the conditions of labour, the organisation of industry which avoids the evils of industrial depression, the common enjoyment of the profit and, from the point of view of the consumer, the communal guarantee of the soundness and regular supply of the article.

6. There is communal regulation of labour and property, and at the same time there is private ownership of land, and of tools of production, as well as private enjoyment of the fruits of labour. But private property and private

enjoyment are never aggressive in their character; they constitute a refined system of property which avoids the evils of socialism, viz., the check to private initiative and enterprise.

7. The democratic organisation of industry in a scheme of artisans' and traders' guilds and brotherhoods. Instead of state socialism, the decentralisation of industry; instead of concentration of capital and business, the federation of guilds or groups of self-governing producers and traders.

8. Recognition of the fact that industrialism does not comprehend the whole of life, but that religion, art, and communal service are important adjuncts to the welfare of the community, and are indissolubly mixed up with the production and distribution of wealth.

Development on Communal Lines.—The present type of organisation of industry does not, of course, represent a finished stage. There are many drawbacks so far as the supply of capital to industry and the organisation of industry for the purposes of trade are concerned. Thus, at present it is the individual villager who supplies the wood, iron or yarn to the carpenter, the blacksmith and the weaver, and the latter find the tools and implements for themselves. This is suited to the present undeveloped conditions of rural economy. These simple forms of organisation represent the vital seeds and cells, the *rudiments* which await a more complex growth for the building up of a complex structure, which will satisfy the varied communal needs of self-governing adult organisms.

The growth of communal institutions on such natural lines, unhampered by alien forces, may lead ultimately to larger federal unions of various types, economic, social and administrative, which will arise in obedience to the new and imperative demands of a larger national life.

The lines of development may be thus indicated :

1. The communal supply of capital and the raw materials on a co-operative basis, which will intercept the profits of the middleman, and regulate unproductive consumption.

2. The organisation of groups of autonomous guilds corresponding to co-operative artisans' societies which will, on the

one hand, protect the interests as well as maintain the standard of production and consumption, and, on the other, co-ordinate the economic activities of union or federation of villages for the purposes of external trade and expansion.

3. The development of communal workshops on a collective basis on the lines of existing institutions such as the irrigation channel, the school and the temple. By the side of the *tol* and the *muhktab*, the *nidhi* and the *sethi*, there should grow communal power-houses owned and operated, as are the former, on a collective basis, which will distribute the electric current for the looms and the lathes of the village. In the case of the electric installation the relative costs per unit do not increase as in the steam plant. Thus the electric installation has no tendency to grow into large dimensions as the steam installation has. The age of steam has gone. The greater use of electricity as a motive force in industry will lead to the ultimate decentralisation of industry and the multiplication of small workshops, which will now have no special disadvantages in comparison with large-scale production. The use of small and cheap motors such as the oil-engine, the gas-engine, and the water-pressure engine which have been so successfully used for aeroplanes, submarines, and for many humbler machines, such as lawnmowers, etc., also carries with it the germ of a complete transformation of industry due to the special facilities it gives to small industries and petty workshops.

Developments on these lines will follow the socio-economic traditions of the past. Some of the vital ideals of modern co-operation are already held in solution in the Indian economic organisation. References to co-operation in a very advanced form are met with frequently in Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, which belongs to the fourth century B.C.

Co-operation in 400 B.C.—Apart from scattered references to various forms of co-operation in different parts of this treatise, there is in it a sub-section entirely devoted to the rules and methods of co-operative undertakings. "Thus ends chapter xiv," runs the colophon of this portion, "containing rules regarding labourers and co-operative undertakings . . . in Book III, concerning law, of the

Arthashastra of Kautilya." In this section rules are laid down for the guidance of guilds of workmen as well as of those who carry on any co-operative work. Co-operative cultivation, manufacture and trading, all seem to be contemplated. It is laid down that co-operators shall divide their earnings either equally or as agreed upon among themselves. The essential principle of co-operation, viz., that it is an association of the weak to become strong, and not an association of the strong to get stronger and to exploit, has been enunciated. For example it is stated :—

" A healthy person who deserts his company after work has been begun shall be fined 12 panas, for none shall, of his own accord, leave his company. Any person who is found to have neglected his share of work by stealth shall be shown mercy (*abhayam*) for the first time and given a proportional quantity of work anew with promise of a proportional share of earning as well. In case of negligence for a second time or of going elsewhere he shall be thrown out of the company (*pravasanam*). If he is guilty of a glaring offence (*mahaparadha*), he shall be treated as the condemned."

The motive which underlies this rule, viz., an earnest attempt to raise the less efficient, less regular and less honest workers in a group to the level of the best among its members by joint persuasion and moral force, commands our admiration. The system of co-operative labour, in respect of which the rule of Kautilya was laid down, was almost identical in all respects with a system recently developed in Italy, and known as *co-operative di lavoro e pubblici servizi*, which is said to be "Italy's peculiar contribution to co-operation."

Reference to co-operative methods and institutions is found in yet another class of ancient Sanskrit works—the law codes or the *Samhitas*. In the Institutes of Yajnavalkya there is a chapter called *Sambhuya samuththana prakaranam*, i.e., on joint or co-operative undertakings. The rules of trade in combination are given in detail. These rules refer to business in partnership or by companies, although, even in these cases, every member or shareholder of the concern was required either himself or by agent to take part in the

conduct of business. At the end of the chapter, however, there is this significant addition : " By this are indicated also the laws that govern undertakings or *ritwiks*, agriculturists and artisans who work in co-operation." Co-ordinating this with the rules regarding co-operation of labourers previously quoted from Kautilya, it must be clear that the system of joint work by cultivators and artisans referred to by Yajnavalkya must have been an institution embodying many of the essential features of agricultural and industrial co-operation.¹

Nidhis.—In this connection mention may be made of the indigenous institutions called *nidhis*, which existed in several parts of India and served some of the purposes which co-operative institutions are intended to serve, such as providing cheap capital to agriculturists and artisans. In the Madras Presidency and the surrounding tracts, the *nidhis* were known from at least the early part of the nineteenth century. Sir Frederick Nicholson, in his valuable report, gives an interesting history of the working of *nidhis* in Madras City from the year 1850 onwards. He, however, distinctly says that such institutions existed at a much earlier period. Davangere 24 and Holalkere 123 in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* were believed by Mr. Rice to be instances of inscriptions in which such *nidhis* were referred to. In these interesting documents the merits of an institution called the *ananda nidhi*, founded by King Achyuta Raya of Vijayanagar, are described in the following terms :—

" In Saka 1461 in the year named Vikari in the bright fortnight of the month of Bhadrupada on the twelfth day of the moon, on Tuesday in *nakshatra* dominated by Vishnu, did the King Achyuta grant the *ananda-nidhi* making the *dwijas* to be like Dhanada (Kubera) and giving pleasure to Madhava (Vishnu). Protected by all manner of merit as that (Kubera's treasure) is surrounded by hosts of *Yakshas* ; in the possession of the assembly of the good, as that is ever in the keeping of the serpents. Having gained celebrity as a very new (*atinava*) thing, the courageous King Achyuta's

¹ *Vide* Mr. J. S. Chakravarti's presidential address to the Co-operative Conference, Mysore, 1916.

ananda nidhi, can the nine (*nava*) treasures (of Kubera) equal it ? ”

Ancient Village Communalism.—The establishment of communal workshops and power-houses also will not be altogether new. In the inscription of Vira-Chola (tenth century, A.D.) there is mention of a tax on unauthorised looms. In the Kuram plates of Paramesvara Varman I the looms (*tari*) are included among the property owned by the village in common. It would thus appear that a fixed number of looms were worked for the common benefit of the whole village by the weavers, who were probably maintained out of the village funds. Any other looms than the communal ones would be unlicensed or unauthorised. These may have been required to pay a tax which, in the present case, was made over to the Jaina Shrine.¹ Besides the looms, the oil-mills, the bazaar, the brokerage, the *kattikkanam* are also mentioned in the Kuram plate, as common property. The inscription runs thus : “ (The donees) shall enjoy the houses and house gardens of this village, the village property, the oil-mills, the looms, the bazaar, the brokerage, the *kattikkanam*, deposit paid by the watchman or the charge of land, and all other common (property) after (the proceeds) have been divided.” It seems that some of the looms and oil-mills are common property, while the fees levied on goods purchased and sold in the market were remitted to common village funds ; it is these which were set apart for the Brahmans to whom this gift was made.

Ancient Guild Federation.—The federation of merchant and craft-guilds also is not a step in an entirely new direction. From the numerous references to these federations in Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji's *Local Government in Ancient India* we find how “ these Hansa Leagues of merchants and other assemblies of certain special corporations from their numerical strength attained to a great measure of political importance.” The inscriptions Nos. 256 and 342 of 1912 relate that the guild of *nanadesi* merchants (i.e., those who come from or have dealings with various countries) comprised various sub-divisions coming from the 1,000 districts of the

¹ *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 138.

four quarters, the eighteen towns, the thirty-two *velarapuram* and sixty-four *ghatika-sthana*. These *nanadesis* met together at Mayilarpur (i.e., Mylapore) and decided to convert Kattur which was originally *ayyapulal* into *virapattina*, and thus exempted its inhabitants of all communal contributions, entitling them to receive twice what they used to get till then (in the matter of honorary privileges perhaps). No. 342 relates that the community consisting of *nadu*, *nagara* and *nanadesi* met in a special congregation at Siravalli, comprising 1,500 representatives of all *samayās* (religious denominations) coming from the four and eight quarters, and also of their followers of various sects and tenets.

Dr. Mookerji also gives some remarkable examples of seamen's guilds. One of these he mentions is referred to in the Mottupalli record of the Kakatiya emperor Ganapatideva (No. 600 of 1909) granted a charter (*abhaya-sasana*) to merchants trading in their vessels from the seaport of Mottupalli with islands and coast towns in distant countries. The federation of craft-guilds is no less characteristic. No. 261 of 1909 refers to the guild of oil-mongers of Kanchi and its suburbs, and also those of twenty-four *nagaras* who met in a temple of Kanchimanagar and decided that the usual tax on oil-mills in the temple premises at Tiruk-kachchar should be paid to the temple together with a specified quantity of oil and a voluntary fee of 1 kasu per oil-mill. The famous Visvakarma Chaitya House at Ellora (sixth century), dedicated to the Divine Architect, was in all probability the guildhall of the artisans of Ellora for generations, and is a specially significant record of the important part played by the great co-operative guilds in the social economy of India.

Scope and Future of Communalism.—The development of co-operative credit, co-operative methods of purchase and sale and the federation of workshops and industrial or commercial guilds, now arrested on account of the forces of outside competition, is the only method to rescue the communal organisation of autonomous economic groups in the economic struggle of the present day.

Industrial organisations were growing larger and larger on account of technical causes, but the tendency will, it is expected, sooner or later, be arrested by improvements in the use of electricity and the introduction of cheap motors, as well as developments in the directions of co-operative organisation, unions and federations.

The evils of the present industrial organisation which Western capitalism represents need not be recounted. The poverty and the chronic unemployment in the midst of unsatisfied desires of the rich and the poor alike, the exploitation and the social injustice which the present industrial organisation establishes and perpetuates, have caused universal unrest and dissatisfaction, and it would be unwise to associate India's industrial future with the introduction of dehumanised economic organisation of the West, for which so many sweeping systems of reform have been and are being advocated by Western economists. State socialism does not satisfy the ideal, for its bureaucratic machinery will bring about wooden routine and dull monotony. In spite of the social advantages of the state organisation and control of labour, and of the conditions of work, state socialism cannot but be harmful to the development of originality and initiative, and will ultimately end in technical conservatism, and a uniform but low average of industrial and intellectual efficiency. In the East again, the state has never touched more than the fringe of social life. This is at once the cause and the effect of the vitality of her self-governing and independent village communities, guilds and their unions. The nationalisation of industries, the bureaucratic organisation and the regulation of the conditions of production, distribution and trade by externally imposed laws, will run counter to the lines of eastern social evolution in the past. Co-operation and syndicalism also have their merits as well as their deficiencies. Co-operation tends to establish a solidarity of the interests of the capitalist and of the consumer. But the great deficiency of co-operative economy is that, in its zeal for the increase of the dividend for redistribution as bonus and profits among the consumers, it is often ready to exploit

the labourers. In some of the co-operative industrial establishments of the West, the labourers are chronically underpaid. Syndicalism similarly effects a solidarity of the interests of the producer and of the capitalist, but forgets the consumer. Neither co-operation nor syndicalism is a comprehensive ideal which can effect a union of the interests of the producer, the capitalist and the consumer, interests which have been separated by the present industrial order or rather anarchy in the West.

Communalism aims at amalgamating all the three interests. The community which will direct labour and employ capital in this economic scheme will also be the natural guardians of the rights of producers and of consumers. Thus, while both co-operation and syndicalism will not be able wholly to prevent industrial strife and class conflict, and have to depend on the state as the arbitrator and guardian, communalism, which establishes and perpetuates the integration of all the different industrial interests, prevents industrial disputes and achieves social progress without the mediation of state laws and regulations concerning industrial life. Communalism secures the advantages of syndicalism by recognising an industrial or agricultural unit for purposes of government. State socialism or a bureaucratic organisation of industry can secure an average mechanical efficiency, but it saps at the roots of individual initiative and enterprise ; and, by separating the labourer from an interest and enthusiasm in the work and its management and the imperative necessity of self-direction, it violates the justice of private property. Communalism allows individual rights in property, but emphasises social interest. The unit of communal activity is a functional unit, an agrarian or industrial group in the zones of agrarian and industrial distribution. Communalism stands for the direct control of the labourer over his work and its management, and for an equitable demarcation of individual and social rights in property. It stands, therefore, for self-direction, for the unarrested development of the creative impulses, for art and craftsmanship, for the expression of ideals, and the happiness and dignity of labour. Communalism ensures the advantages of co-operation by

regulating industry in the interests of consumers. But, unlike co-operation and trade-unionism, it does not make membership of the economic organisation compulsory for participation in its special benefits which do not correspond with the benefits for the entire community. In communalism the economic organisation is meant for all. It is the regulation of industry by the community in the interests of all as consumers, and not as representing special or exclusive class interests. An individual works, not as representing the interests of his class as the labourer, the consumer or capitalist, or as representing the unified interests of two of the above classes. He is there as a member of the community as a whole, and his individual industry is a direct means of communal service. That is wanting in syndicalism, which is in consequence coming to be associated in the West with the red flag and revolutionary outbursts.

But syndicalism also stands for a movement which aims at bringing more self-government into methods of production, and has been embodied in such catchwords as "the mines for the miners." Guild-socialism, which represents a typical English development, combines state socialism with a more democratic method of organising state industries. (3) The state is to be the ultimate owner of all the means and instruments of production, but within this limit each group of producers is to form a co-operative society, managing its own business on a thoroughly democratic basis. The principles of syndicalism and guild-socialism, so far as they concur with those of communalism as regards the recognition of a trade or industry as the unit of government, with some kind of home-rule, are not easily applicable to those industries wherein large masses of metals and huge specialised machinery have to be used, e.g., railway, ship-building, iron and steel industries. In these the advantages of large-scale production and organisation, and of centralised management, are so obvious that the communal system will have to be modified in its application, and be found only in the direction of the democratic government of industry, as syndicalism exhibits, and will stop short of the ideal, the regulation of industry by the consumers in

myriad local groups, which communalism always stand for. The highly organised capitalistic trades, staple manufactures or the chief agencies for transport, distribution and finance should be partly forced into more highly organised forms and partly stamped out. Social and group ownership is here essential as a safeguard of status and the standard minimum, and as a protection against profiteering likely to arise in syndicalist society. While, on the one hand, French syndicalism usually exhibits a deep under-current of hostility both to the state and to state socialism, guild socialism depends upon state action to prevent one powerful group from exploiting its monopoly position. Communalism will exhibit the democratic methods of the organisation of industries on a federal basis, but each guild of producers will be responsible for the actual working of its own industry to the community of consumers. Communalism will thus represent a greater co-ordination of social and industrial interests, and will depend not upon the state, but upon the voluntary co-operation of groups as the lever of industrial reconstruction. A regional or a functional unit, an industrial or an agrarian group, democratically organised in industry, will carry on industrial activities, and out of these will be developed larger federal industrial or agricultural unions which will meet the growing demands of expanding trade and business, with the government not absolutist and exploitative under dominating central organs, but democratic and federal, rising layer upon layer from the lower local and communal stratifications on the broad and stable basis of industrial democracy.

Communalism in China and India will thus renew and expand the existing social tradition and economic arrangement for the organisation of larger autonomous local associations and guild unions, while the interweaving of conflicting economic interests in the local bodies that will as now represent consumers as well as producers will be the best discipline in industrial citizenship. For the chief cause why the present system of industrial unionism or syndicalism comes into conflict with the state, as the guardian of consumers, is that they both neglect the integration process at the

bottom, but by organising labourers horizontally or vertically lead to the crystallisation of class-feeling which makes reconciliation with the rights of others difficult, if not impossible. Thus "self-government in industry" on communal lines bears richer promise of industrial peace and justice than that on guild-socialist or syndicalist lines. Communalism agrees with Socialism and Syndicalism as a plan which eliminates the undesirable conditions which result from the use of capital by individual owners, competitively seeking private profits; it offers, however, not an incomplete or revolutionary but a concrete and practical programme for reconstructing industry and society. It is worthy of the most attentive study in the West, and of development and expansion as a scheme of life in the East.

CHAPTER XIV.

COMMUNAL FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION.

1. NORTHERN INDIA.

WHEN the produce is raised from the field, the allowances for the work of the village labourers are first of all separated from the common heap. These may be taken as follows :

Labourer.	Service.	Allowance per cent. of whole produce.
Blacksmith	Iron-work	2·5
Carpenter	Woodwork	2·5
Potter	Earthenware and carrying grain	2·5
Sweeper	Winnowing grain	2·5
Trader	Weighing grain	2·5
Cobbler	Leather work	2·5
	Total	15·0

The allowances given for collecting grain for the landlord, for shaving, for music, for cooking, for lighting the peasant's pipe and for religious services have also to be considered.

Ordinarily the process of division of crops is somewhat like the following. When the grain is threshed and winnowed, it is put in a heap on the threshing floor, and, to prevent tampering, little lumps of clay are stuck on it here and there and stamped with a wooden seal kept in custody of the proprietor or his representative. When all are ready to receive their share, they assemble at the threshing floor, and the weigher (*dharwai*) proceeds to measure the grain. If the proprietor's share is one-third, he weighs out

the grain into three equal heaps, leaving a small heap from which he weighs out their allowances to the village labourers, anything over being divided between the proprietor and the tenant. The proprietor then takes one heap, and the tenant the other two.

In every village there is a common fund called *malba*. There are various services of this common income of the village :

1. Whenever grain is sold in the village it is weighed by the *tola*, who charges at a certain rate on each transaction, and credits a portion of the receipts to the village fund. In many villages the proprietors are entitled to a sort of octroi duty (*dharat*) on all imports and exports, generally at the rate of one paise per rupee or Re.1-9-0 per cent. on the value of the articles, but sometimes one-third of an anna per rupee or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The produce of the township consumed within the village pays no rate, but if an outsider sells or purchases in the village, he has to pay this tax. It is generally farmed to a trader (*dharwai*), who keeps half the realisations for his trouble in weighing the goods (*tulai*) and credits the proprietors with the other half in his account of the common village fund. The income from this source is large and is generally credited to the common fund or spent on such public objects as improving the village well or supplying oil to the village mosque and tobacco to the guest-house.

2. The occasional proceeds derived from the sale or lease of common property, such as the sale of jungle ; the lease of pasture to travelling herds of cattle ; the sale of the nitrous efflorescence (*rehi*), which abounds in old homesteads for the purpose of manure, or the manufacture of saltpetre ; the small dues sometimes realised from carts which come for dry firewood ; the fine often paid by strangers for permission to collect kind, to cut thatching grass and the like. These are, if of any material amount, generally divided at once among the owners, and the tenants have no share in them. If petty, they are paid into the credit of the general *malba* accounts.

3. The *kurhi kamini* or hearth tax, which is collected in

almost every village. The usual annual rate is Rs.2 per hearth ; but in small villages, where the common expenses are inconsiderable, it varies with their amount. It is paid by artisans and shopkeepers, only by non-cultivators. *Dakauts*, sweepers, *doms*, barbers, and washermen, so long as they exercise their calling, are exempt.

The real object of the cess is to throw a share of the burden of the hospitality which is exercised in the name of the village as a whole upon those residents who would otherwise escape all share in its incidence.

4. There are also grazing dues, *chugai* or *chasai*, which are chiefly levied in villages where pasture is extensive and non-proprietors often keep numerous flocks and herds. The rate is 8 annas per buffalo, 4 annas per ox or cow, 2 annas per calf, and Rs. 3 to 5 per hundred sheep or goats.

Sometimes the *lambardars* are given the power of incurring expenditure as necessary, getting the money from some *banya's* shop, and the account is made up once or twice a year, the sharers being entitled to have it explained to them.

In some villages the proprietors have allowed the *lambardars* to realise a small percentage on the land-revenue for this purpose. This is usually 5 per cent., and the *lambardars* are then responsible for the whole expenditure. The money is usually deposited with the village *banya*.

2. SOUTHERN INDIA.

Perhaps the best specimens of communal finance are to be found in the South Indian villages, which possess in themselves, as we have seen, almost all the elements that go to form a strong corporate spirit ; a common temple and a *choultri*, in which the villagers collect and gossip, a village police and a complement of artisans and other functionaries, to whose support every one makes a rateable contribution, pasture grounds, cattle yards, and threshing floors, common to all, often tanks and irrigation channels, in the repair and maintenance of which almost all alike have an interest. All villagers have their common village funds, sometimes called *pothupanam* and *oppadi*. The sources of the common village funds are multifarious, and they exhibit an unusual

business capacity, ingenuity, as well as an endeavour to do justice to all parties concerned. Thus, in the village Vallam, in the district of Tanjore, which I visited, the sources of *pothupanam* were :

1. Marriage fees for males, Rs.20.
2. Marriage fees for females, Rs.10.
3. Burial fees for burying within the mosque, Rs.50.
4. Auction money raised on the meat day once a week.

The right to sell meat on Tuesday is sold by auction, and the purchasers give out of the auction money one-third to the mosque and two-thirds to the Hindu temples and summer water-sheds.

5. In the same village, among the Christian and Hindu *odayars*, a *mahimai* is levied for the church and the temple. The rates are 4 annas for the sale of a pair of bullocks or a bullock cart, and $\frac{1}{2}$ anna for the sale of a bag of grain.

A more interesting account of the system of village *mahimai* was obtained by me from the village Periyathirukonan in Trichinopoly district. There is an annual lease given by the *punchayet* to a particular villager, who levies a tax of an anna for every cow-cart that goes to the village with grain, foodstuffs or other things for sale. The cart of the same village will be taxed. There is a tax of 4 annas for every cart that exports grain from the village. There are also taxes of 4 annas and 3 pies for the purchase and sale of a pair of cattle and a goat respectively. These funds are utilised for the common purposes of the village.

In the village of Valadi, I found that the expenses of the festival of Lokanayika were met by—

1. A tax of 2 annas on every bullock cart ;
2. The contribution of three Madras measures of paddy by every acre of cultivable land ;
3. A tax of 2 annas for every house site ;
4. A tax of 4 annas levied on artisans.

In the same village the costs of repair and improvement of irrigation channels are met out of contributions levied according to the number of acres under irrigation.

Other sources of village funds may be enumerated as below :

1. Lease-money for the manufacture of saltpetre on the village *nathan* or house site ;

2. Lease-money for the grazing of ducks on the wet lands ;

3. Market fees, for instance, 1 anna for a cow-cart, 3 pies for every head-load, 3 pies for a goat, etc. ;

4. Lease of grass from wet fields ;

5. The proceeds of communal land or from the annual sale by auction of the right to the fishery of the tank and from trees which are generally owned by the whole community.

6. In a weavers' village, there is a tax on every loom, and the proceeds are utilised for common village purposes. The most significant instance of this is to be seen in the village Mannargudi in Tanjore district.

7. A tax on every goat that is killed in the village (as in Chakrapalli, again in Tanjore district).

8. The sale of betel leaf, mutton, fish and goat's flesh is often monopolised by a particular villager, and some portion of the lease-money goes to village funds.

9. During the harvest season, temporary booths are erected near the threshing field for the sale of betel-nuts, sugar-cane and confectionery, and the lease-money goes to the village funds.

10. House-to-house collection of paddy is also seen in some villages, and the proceeds are employed usually for festivals or for the support of an orphanage and the village church establishment.

11. The right of gathering fruit from the trees along the high road is purchased at auctions by a villager, and then there is a subsequent auction at which high prices are realised. The profit goes to the communal fund.

The communal income of a village may reach from Rs.200 to Rs.50,000. Generally the income is a thousand or a couple of thousand rupees.

The objects of expenditure of common village funds are no less varied. The more common objects are the repair of the temples of the village and the maintenance of the village *chawadi* or guest-house. Almost all villages have the *gramavidu*, where all strangers are entertained for the night. The paddy from the *samudayam* lands, as well as

the big cauldrons and vessels for use on special occasions by individual villagers, are kept there under the responsibility of *kanakan* and *mudalpadi*. In a village in Travancore, I found the chit system of accounting. The village accountant of Thazhacoody gives a slip to a stranger, and a poor Brahman, who is in charge of the guest-house, feeds him. He produces all the slips at the end of the month before the *kanakan*, who gives him 2 Madras measures of paddy for each guest.

Then there are the periodical festivals of the village gods and goddesses, the expenses of which, together with those of daily ritual and worship, are met out of common funds.

In times of death and disease, *sahasranamajapam* (counting God's name) is performed either in the village temple or in the guest-house, and the expenses in this case also are met out of village funds.

Then there are gifts of the village to learned *pandits* or *shastris*; village plays, *kathakalakshepam*, like *Sitakalyanam*, *Rukmini-Swayambaram*, are common, and such entertainments as well as *harikathas* (story-telling from scriptures) are other objects of the expenditure of village funds. Jugglers and acrobats come and amuse the village folk, who pay for the entertainment in common.

The *gramapanam*, or common village fund, is also spent in the clearing of tanks and channels, the purchase and distribution of manure and sometimes in securing the favour of the lower ranks of officials. Where the lands originally given to village artisans and servants have been lost, they are sometimes paid out of the *pothupanam*.

In Kovilur, in Trichinopoly district, agricultural loans are advanced out of the village funds. During the time of cultivation, the village elders lend out money to the villagers for expenses in connection with cultivation or in other extraordinary contingencies, returnable within three months. The interest charged is 6 per cent. In the district of Madura, for instance, in the village Thirkkupatti, I also found loans being advanced to cultivators, bearing an interest of 15 per cent. For marriages small sums are lent for short periods and no interest is charged.

In villages, where there is more or less a differentiation and segregation of castes and occupations, each street of a particular caste has its own organisation, with a treasurer and an accountant, managing the communal funds, each maintaining its own temple, repairing its own streets and alleys, and attending to all other communal needs. Thus, in the internal economy of the village, an autonomous board directing its particular craft, meets the communal needs of the particular caste people. This segregation, however, is by no means a universal feature, for, though there may be villages with their independent *kulalar-therus*, *kannalars-therus*, *agraharams* and *paricheris*, there are many where the segregation is not complete—where even in the village *punchayet* different caste people are represented, though, of course, an affair relating to a particular caste is left to be ultimately settled by that caste itself. In the village of Kajamalaipatti, I found a very interesting case. In the *punchayet* meetings it had been usual to bring in as many Muhammadans as there were Kallars in the village, though a dispute had reference only to the Kallars or to the Muhammadans.

We take a few typical instances from our investigations into rural life and labour in Southern India, to show the actual working of the plan of communal administration and finance above described.

Tanjore District—Village Odalayalur.—I. There are *samudayam* or communal lands allotted to the repair and maintenance of two temples. Individual endowments have also been added. The work of temple management has been entrusted to the hands of a responsible landholder, whose responsibility for accounts to the whole body of villagers is recognised.

II. There is also a Mari-amman temple, which has been built out of contributions equally distributed over eighty-five *panghas* of the village.

III. There are also a common guest-house and a *snanamandapam* (bath-house on the river), the costs of building which have been distributed according to the number of acres of each cultivator.

IV. The temple festivals extend sometimes over ten days, the expenses being shared as follows :

1. The cultivators of the village are responsible for the expenditure of four days, and they tax themselves at the rate of 4 annas for each labourer.

2. Similarly all other artisans also share the expenses :

Carpenter 1 day.

Blacksmith 1 day.

Talari 1 day.

Oil-presser 1 day.

3. The temple authorities bear the expenses of the opening day.

The Sudras have the right to the fishery of some common tanks, in return for which they have to carry gods in the temple processions.

V. The common irrigation channels of the village are repaired and maintained by the communal funds. There is also a sharing of labour—eight acres of land must contribute twelve to sixteen labourers.

VI. There are common village artisans, servants and other functionaries, and the village *punchayet* is responsible for supervision over their work.

1. There are eight *talaris*, two in each direction, whose duty is to watch the crops in the fields and threshing floors, see stray cattle, guard cocoanuts and obey the miscellaneous orders of the *punchayet*. They are paid 720 Madras measures of grain a year for an acre of wet land and 2 Madras measures for 1-3rd acre of dry land.

2. There is also a *vatiyan*, who clears the by-paths and village cart-tracks, and removes weeds from the bathing-tank ; he removes the carcasses of dead animals ; he carries death errands, principally for non-Brahmans ; he brings fuel to the cremation ground and looks to the burning of the corpse when the last ritual is done.

There is also the *nirarikan*, who clears the silt at the head sluice, directs the water into the main irrigation channels and blocks the channel-head when an excess of flow is threatened.

He sweeps the compound of the temples before a festival,

and is in charge of the major functions in connection with the festivals of Mari-amman and Ayanar.

He enjoys 2-3rds of an acre of village *common* wet lands, the *kist* being paid by the village cultivators.

He also takes as perquisite the dead carcasses of cattle.

3. The carpenter and the blacksmith had formerly lands allotted to them for their services, but are now paid individually in grain; for instance the carpenter is paid 12 Madras measures for making and repairing a plough.

4. The barber is paid individually by $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 Madras measures of grain on each occasion he serves a family. His common services to the village are insisted upon:

(i.) On the tenth funeral day, all the Brahman agnates are shaved and the barber receives 8 annas.

(ii.) Barbers have the right of shaving on festivals when shaving is done for vows.

Four barbers still possess $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres of land allotted to them by the village, which they have been cultivating.

5. One washerman possesses 1-3rd acre of *maniyam* land allotted to his occupation. He is paid individually according to services rendered by him. He provides torches for the processions of the village gods.

VII. The village grocer supplies the oil for the *punchayet* meetings at night, which determine the conduct of village finance and administration.

Trichinopoly District—Village Andanallur.—The village still retains *samudayam* lands of 10 acres, which have been leased out to defray such important common village expenses as:

1. The repair and maintenance of irrigation channels;
2. The feeding of travellers and of officials;
3. Annual contributions to learned *shastris*;
4. *Harikathas* and *bhajanwalas*;
5. Acrobats and jugglers.

The *punchayet* looks after the work of the different village servants and artisans, all of whom had *maniyams* previously; these have been now transformed into their cultivated lands and used as house-sites.

Besides the *vatiyans*, who are under government pay,

at the rate of Rs.4 per mensem, there is an informal *vatiyan* of the village, who is paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ Madras measures for every $22\frac{1}{2}$ kalams of paddy.

The *pammagar* controls the day labourers, who are engaged in channel-digging. He is assisted by *kavalgars* in guarding cattle and crops. He also supplies the necessities of bamboos, sticks and pots for cremation. He is paid 3 Madras measures for $22\frac{1}{2}$ kalams of paddy.

The *pandaram* still enjoys some *maniyam* lands. In addition he is paid by each cultivator $3\frac{1}{2}$ Madras measures for every 6 acres. The *devadasis* receive annually 6 kalams of paddy from temple property.

Madura District—Village Paravai.—The sources of *pothupanam* are :

1. The annual sale by auction of the right of the fishery of the village tanks—Rs.500.
2. The proceeds from the sale by auction of the right of installing temporary booths near the threshing floor on harvest occasions—Rs.100.
3. Paddy contributions for festivals. Cultivators—Brahmans and Sudras—contribute 6 Madras measures for each acre.

The objects of expenditure of the village funds are :

1. The repairs of one *chawadi* or the village guest-house, where the *punchayet* meetings are also held, and of six temples.
2. The periodical festivals of the village gods and goddesses and the entertainment of actors of the village plays on such occasions.
3. Charity to beggars, learned men and pilgrims, and the entertainment given by playwrights and magicians, *kuthris* and *pettambars*.
4. Repair and maintenance of irrigation channels. Communal labour is usually employed : each cultivator must supply one labourer for $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land ; if he fails to do so, he has to pay the wages of one labourer that is employed ; otherwise the supply of water from the irrigation channels to his land will be stopped.

In this village, which formerly belonged to the temple of

Meenakshi, all the functionaries, artisans and servants still retain *maniyam* lands, though they are also paid in measures of grain per acre from the cultivators, as shown below :—

<i>Kaval</i>	5 acres ; and one measure of grain per acre.
<i>Tothi</i>	1 measure per acre.
<i>Neerghunti</i>	2 acres ; and 2 measures per acre.

Carpenter, who also repairs vehicles for the processions of the village gods and goddesses and likewise repairs needles

1 bundle for 2 acres.

Barber 1 acre and 16 measures per acre.

Washerman 1 acre and 36 measures per acre.

Potter, who is also the priest of the Ayanar temple. He makes the figures of horses and elephants in pottery for Ayanar

still retaining 1 acre of *maniyam* land.

Kuthari, drummer or dancer 1 acre of *maniyam* land.

Panchangi, astrologer, who fixes auspicious hours 1½ acres of *maniyam* land also fees on marriage occasions.

Kathan, whose services are requisitioned at the festivals of the goddess Meenakshi, at which he is employed to keep order

2 acres of *maniyam* land.

Sthanpatyam, also a servant of the Meenakshi temple 3 acres of *maniyam* land.

Joshi, astrologer, also for the temple of Meenakshi 1½ acres of *maniyam* land.

In the same village, certain lands have also been endowed for some specific religious services (*kattalei*), for instance,

kamalapatram, or the offering of betel leaves to the god Subramanya and *annabhishekam* to Meenakshi.

Ramnad District.—In the Ramnad *zamindari*, the most characteristic instances of corporate village spirit, communal industry and finance are met with unmolested by the introduction of alien individualistic ideas associated with the *ryotwari* system, which has everywhere threatened to break up the community of interest on which the village system depends.

The general features of communal finance in the Ramnad *zamindari* may be shown as follows :

1. 20 per cent. of the crop is set apart for common expenses—

(i.) *Kudiveray* and *swatantram* (seed and cultivation expenses)—12 per cent. given to *ryots*.

(ii.) 8 per cent. taken by the landlord—

(a) 6 per cent. for emoluments of the village staff.

(b) 2 per cent. for *mahimai*.

2. 80 per cent. is divided equally between *ryots* and landlord. The village staff consists of the following :—

1. Accountant, *kanakapillai* or *karnam*.

2. Headman, *ambalam*.

3. Watchman, *kaval* or *talari*.

4. Irrigation man, *madayan*.

5. Measurer, *kurumban*.

6. The village labourer who keeps the threshing floor in good condition, *variyan*.

7. Village messenger, *tothi*.

The village artisans are the carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the barber and the washerman.

The ecclesiastical staff consists of the *purohit*, the *pandaram*, the *panchangi*, *devadasi*, *kuthari*.

They are all paid out of 6 per cent. of net yield as collected by the landlord, as seen in No. (ii) (a) above (*palaswatantram*). The *mahimai*, as in (ii) (b) above, is classified into—

(a) *Dharma-mahimai*, that is, objects of charity, not specifically appropriable, but determined according to the time and circumstances ; for instance, summer water-sheds,

choultris, hospitals, schools, poor students, *hakims*, physicians, etc.

(b) *Jari-mahimai*, that is, specific objects of charity, which have been assigned; the *zamindar* cannot alter the specified proportions, such, for instance, as *maths*, *chhatrams*, village temples, poets (*pulabars*), minstrels, reciters, *acharyas*, *bhagbatas*, *gurus*, *shastris*, *bhajanwalas*, etc.

The *maniyams* for that portion of the village staff which deal with the revenue collection, accounting, police and watchmen's duties, are incorporated with *zamin* lands.

The *zamindar* is under an obligation to repair tanks and irrigation channels, and he would often levy a special tax, *kulavetti*, for this purpose. He should also maintain certain unendowed charities and the village establishment in lieu of the village *maniyams* that have been resumed and incorporated by him.

Usually the *maniyam* holders are the *karnam*, *ambalam*, and *kaval*.

The *kavalgar* has been more than once referred to. Indeed, the basis of the ancient police system of Southern India was the *kudikaval* or *stalakaval*—the village watch. Dating, perhaps, from the time of the formation of the village community itself, it represents the simple and effective device of a self-contained group of inhabitants for protecting their lives and properties from the aggression of hostile or jealous neighbours. This indigenous police system is suited to the genius of the people. It is the ancient Hindu plan, and exists in districts where Hindu institutions have been little broken in upon by foreign conquerors. *Kaval* fees are imposed upon neighbouring and distant villages, and in a village in Tanjore I found the fee for securing peace and property to be Rs.50. The *kudikavalgar's* duty is to trace and recover stolen properties, or, if he fails in this, to recompense the owner from his own resources. The fees of *kavalgars* are generally hereditary, and the watchman is generally paid by contribution made at the time of harvest by all villagers. Though primarily a servant of the villagers and responsible to them, his value is recognised by government, and, in recognition of this fact, he is often allowed to

enjoy lands on favourable tenure. Recently the tendency has been to enfranchise their *inams* and resume their fees. *Sarkar* policemen, who are living protests against *kavals*, and paid at the fixed rate of Rs.3 or 4 a month, now exist by the side of *kudikavals*, whose fees being due by custom have been declared illegal. The suppression of the indigenous police system has sometimes led to an increase of crime, and the necessity is often recognised of adapting the old system with the new machinery of government—both central and local.

Travancore—Village Thazhacoody.—The sources of *gramapanam* or common village funds are :

1. *Samudayam* lands or communal property—4½ acres.
2. Fees on occasions of birth, marriage, *upanayan*, etc.

The objects of expenditure are :

1. The maintenance of the *gramavidu* or the village guest-house and the entertainment of strangers.
2. The maintenance of the temple of Krishnaswami and the expenses of the periodical festivals.
3. The payment of wages to the village *kanakan* (accountant) and *mudalpadi* (treasurer).
4. Charity to the poor and gifts to learned *shastris*, *harikathas* and *bhajanwalas*.
5. A special *sandhyamandapam* has been built on the river out of *gramapanam* for morning, noon and evening rites.

6. There are two lamp-posts at the extremities of the *agraharam* which are maintained out of communal funds.

Besides the *agraharam* each street (*theru*) of a particular caste or occupation has its own autonomous organisation with treasurer and accountant for the conduct of the communal activities of each ward, each maintaining its own communal temple, repairing its own streets and lanes, and arranging for other conveniences, for which every one in the ward makes a rateable contribution. The *samudayam* lands of the Sudra community cover 5 acres. The Sudras have built a *mandapam* at the cost of Rs.1,000, where Shivariviramannagai goddess will come on festival days.

They have their accountant and treasurer, for whom shares of grain have been assigned. In the *kulalar-theru* (potters' street) each potter of the ward is in charge of worship of the communal goddess Mutharamramamma and pays its expenses for a day when his turn comes. The fees on marriage and other occasions and fines for social misbehaviour go to the temple. In the *kannalar-theru* the goldsmiths and the blacksmiths maintain the Vinayaka temple of the community, which has *samudayam* lands of 1 acre. One of the elders among the goldsmiths is in charge of temple management, and he also looks after the repair and maintenance of the streets and lanes of the ward.

Malabar.—The east coast village community has no exact counterpart in Malabar, where there are no villages in the usual sense. On account of the particular physiographical conditions the villages have been more or less squattings on the sides of a river or in valleys. The earliest social organisation has been based upon the family group into which the various tribes and castes have been divided on their settlement in the country, each with more or less defined territorial limits—the Brahmans are grouped in *gramas*, the Nairs and other castes in *therus* and *cheris*, and the affairs of the group are under the management of the head or elder (*gramini*, *karnavan*, *mudalal*, *thandan*). The community of interest has developed the *karayogam* on an ethnic rather than the territorial basis, and thus, instead of the village community, we find the *karayogam* as a local, social and economic unit, centred round the temple.

But the organisation of the country for agrarian, economic, social and administrative purposes is of the ordinary Indian type. It rests on the village system in its truest and purest form. There are the *tara* and *cheri*, and later the *desham* and *ulldesham* (village and hamlet) with its institution of headmen (*pati*, *deshadhepati*, *deshwali*, etc.)—hereditary village servants (*cheri-janmakar*) and village *punchayet* or *kutam*. There exist the remnants of the *kaval* system of police and watch-ward—common to all South Indian populations, with its *kavalgars* of many grades down to the village watch. There are also the ordinary communal pious

usages and wider religious orders, personages (*nambudiris*) and institutions with their usual privileges.

All adult members of each *tarawad* in a *kara* belong to the *karayogam*. It is generally the senior members that take part in the meetings. To each *kara* or *desham* is attached a temple. The meeting is generally held at this temple, near which there will be a tank and a banyan tree with its platform (*alihara*) or a wooden bench is made for the purpose (*thettu*). Each *tarawad* must pay to the common funds a certain amount according to its means and determined by the *asan*; and this is called *ottavan*. If this is not paid, the defaulter is ostracised.

During the monsoon, when houses are thatched with cocoanut leaves, all the members of the village co-operate. The leaves are provided by the owner of the house, who gives two meals for the day to the villagers. Such communal labour is insisted upon, and the defaulter is punished with fines and ostracism.

The Christians also have these *karayogams*, and they have also adopted the system of house-to-house paddy collection—*pidiyari*—for the maintenance of the church or orphanage.

For funerals the *karakkars* give the mourning house curry stuffs for all the fifteen days and the expenses of the feast for the sixteenth. Relatives have to bring beaten rice, betel leaves, areca nuts, fruits, etc.

The expenses of *talapulli* and other ceremonies are also met partially from subscriptions by the community. There is also the custom, called *kuriari*, of giving one or two measures of rice, according to agreement, at the death of a member of a family, and the understanding is restricted to the members of the *kuri* generally.

Fees on marriages and other ceremonies are also levied from each house for the expenses of *karayogam* temple.

Among the Izhavas, half a measure of paddy and 10 pies are contributed by each house for the *karayogam talapulli*.

Cocoanut trees are also set apart in each village for the *karayogam* purposes. Two sticks in the backwaters are often set apart in each *karayogam* for the temple of Bhagavati at Anapuzha, near Cranganore. These fishing sticks

are auctioned to one member of the community, who gives the auction-money to the cashier of the temple (*mudapi-dikaran*). Twenty sticks are thus reserved for communal purposes in the Cochin backwaters, near Ernakulam.

Some of the *karayogams* have amassed large sums for communal purposes in different ways. Thus, among the Izhavas, at Cherai, in Cochin, the *karayogam* has collected a sum of Rs.60,000; and at Muthakuna, in Travancore, the village reserve fund amounts to more than a *lakh*.

The artisans, servants and functionaries of the *karayogam* in Nadamail, Cochin, are as follows: -

The carpenter has been given house-site free of rent; he receives also one sheaf of grain from each cultivator at each harvest, as well as piece-work wages standardised according to the implements he makes: for one plough—3 edangulis. He supplies plans and estimates for house construction according to *thachushastram*. This is the universal custom in Malabar.

The blacksmith receives a sheaf of grain; also piece-work wages; he mends the *kathina* during temple festivals; he brings a knife as a present to the Oram festival.

The *thandan* decorates the outside of the temple with festoons, and cleans and sweeps the compound.

The goldsmith:—All the *talis* of the *karakkars* are made by him and he is paid wages at the rate of 3 annas and 4 pies.

The *kaniyan*, or astrologer, receives a sheaf of grain at each harvest; he is paid a cocoanut, a measure of paddy and 3 annas 4 pies, when he is consulted for settling auspicious occasions.

The *maran* has the house-site free of rent; he also receives perquisites from the temple for his work as a drummer and piper.

The *chettian* sprinkles oil and officiates as priest during birth and funeral days of pollution. He receives a measure of paddy and also perquisites on ceremonies in the household.

The *tantris* and *embranchiris* receive monthly wages, also presents of offerings at the temple. There are also servants connected with the temple, *wariars* or garland-makers, and sweepers of the inside temple, pipers, drummers, image-

bearers, etc., who daily receive measures of rice from the temple and also monthly wages.

Perhaps the most interesting instance of communal finance in Malabar is to be found in the organisation and conduct of *kuris* or *chittis*, which are banking institutions. An agreement—*kurivari*—is drawn up, according to which a *kuri* is conducted. The agreement is between the *kuri-mupan* or proprietor, and holders of tickets—*chits*. Supposing the capital to be subscribed is Rs.1,000, each ticket-holder will contribute Rs.10, if there are a hundred subscribers. There are two methods of accounting.

1. *Telakuri*—which corresponds to the Dutch auction system. On the auction day, the subscribers will meet at a particular time and place, and underbid one another. The amount that is underbid, will be divided amongst them. If the amount for which the auction is taken be Rs.700, Rs.300 will be divided among the ninety-nine members, and all, including the conductor, have to pay Rs.10 each for each drawing or auction. The conductor of the *kuri* will take the whole amount. His ticket will not be auctioned. Each member, before he draws his amount, must execute a bond to secure the future advances, while the starter also has to execute a similar bond for the proper conduct of the *kuri*.

2. This is lottery pure and simple. There is feeding of all the subscribers by the winner of the prize. There are also *kuris* or lotteries of feasts.

The *kuri* organisation is quite common throughout Malabar among business men, who collect capital by this means. The Catholic and Protestant churches and Hindu temples also raise money by starting *kuris*. There are, of course, dishonesty and fraud, and, in Travancore, a regulation is being drafted to make the position and the subscriptions paid by the chit-holders secure against the fraud or bad faith of the conductor.

Another characteristic communal institution in Malabar is *samuhamutham*. The *samuhamutham* serves as the communal temple and guest-house for Brahmans and a school for the Brahmacharis. Meetings also are held here for

deciding important social questions. Each Brahman house pays a monthly subscription to the *samuham*. Fees on ceremonial occasions are also paid to the *samuham*, and the Brahman cooks, who are deputed by the *samuham* to cook at a particular house, give their wages to the *samuham*. Each Brahman house contributes to pay the expenses of the entertainment of guests, *shastris*, *harikathas* and *bhagavats*. Vedic hymns are also chanted and the festival of Sasthapriti is conducted by the *samuham*. The villagers can also obtain loans from *samuham* funds.

3. GENERAL.

Throughout India the wells, tanks, irrigation channels, roads and embankments, as well as village guest-houses and temples, have often been erected and maintained by the villagers themselves. The capital is contributed either by landlords and wealthy merchants, to whom such public works appeal because of spiritual injunctions, or by communal effort by the village as a whole contributing capital and labour. In Tanjore the number of Hindu temples and charity houses known as *chhatrams* or *choultris* constitute one of the special features. Nowhere probably in the whole country of India are so many of these institutions to be found within so small an area. A great many of them have been erected and maintained by the cultivators, while hardly is any considerable amount of money acquired in trade or money-lending of which a considerable portion is not devoted to the erection of a *chhatram* or the endowment of some particular service in a temple. The property of a childless widow as a rule is dedicated to such purposes. The form which the charity generally takes, in cases of small endowments, is a water *pandal* for the refreshment of travellers in the hot season. Another form usually adopted where the available resources are limited, is what is called *dwadasi kattalei*, i.e., the distribution of cooked meals to twelve Brahmans on the day after Ekadasi. The institutions are looked after by the village councils. Both the Dravidian heritage and the Brahmanical tradition have made Southern India the richest store-house of works

of general public utility created and maintained by communal feeling and habits.

In the Central Provinces all the villagers are bound together by the tie of *gaon bhayap*; and all join together in celebrating the village festivals. Such are: Dasahra, Holi, Diwali, Nagpanchami and Ramnavami. On these days and during Sravan and Navratra festivals they exchange young shoots of wheat and barley as symbols of amity. There is no distinction of caste in giving or accepting them. Every village has a building, which might be described as the village club, a *musaferkhana* or rest-house, where the headman, the *jaglya*, watchman and one or two *mahars* are generally to be found. The building is generally called a *chavadi*, but sometimes *madhi* and by Warjaris *sopi*. Each village has at least a shrine of Hanuman, generally under the name of Maroti, who seems to be regarded as a kindly god of prosperity and of a Devi such as Kalka, Sarda, Mahamai, Maihi, who holds prosperity or adversity in her hand; Mahadev's temples are also common, Marwaris worship Balaji. All temples are more or less supported by the *gaontia*, one of the rich men of the village or the whole body of villagers. In every village there often stands one comparatively enormous structure, the *malguzar's* fort, so large that the whole population with their cattle could find refuge without it. There was once a wall, *sapili*, *gaokos*, round the village, with gates, *wes*; in some cases the remains are well preserved, but sometimes all traces have disappeared and are forgotten by most villagers.

In Karnatak and many other districts of Bombay contributions for repairing temples and other works of religion and charity are levied on holdings and ploughs.

In Cutch the common village fund is called the gate, *jhampa*, fund. Except *kathodias*, all villagers contribute to it, cultivators paying twice as much as the rest. Charities, public institutions and expenses connected with the visits of travellers are paid from this fund. On death and marriage occasions the villagers meet twice a year; on Gokal A'tham in the village temple and on new year's day at the house of the biggest man, who, if the

proprietor, *girasia*, or the state agent, *mehta*, receives presents of cocoanuts from the villagers. At funerals, except in the case of the lower castes, a man from each family goes with the party to the burning ground. At marriages, the villagers meet in the marriage hall, *mandro*, and are given presents of dates.

In the different districts of the Panjab, two or three commanding positions are common houses (*paras*, *chopals*) belonging to the wards of the village. There will also be a few *baithaks* or shades for gossiping in and many cattle-pens scattered about the village. Further towards the north-west, in Bannu, for instance, *chouks* and *hujras* are peculiar institutions. The *chouk* is commonly a mud-built platform in some central place of the village and adjoins a mosque. It is also well supplied with cots, *chillams* and *hukkas*. In all cases it belongs to *lambardars* or a few leading men. To own one gives a man great influence. As an institution its functions are those of the political clubs, partly social and partly political. The *hujra* is a guest chamber attached to the *chouk* or mosque. Here travellers and "searchers-after-knowledge" put up, and here too the Pathan boy learns to read and write. The *hujra* is mainly a Bannuchi institution. The service of both *chouk* and *hujra* is performed by the *kutwal* (Bannu proper), *dom* and the sweeper. Other expenses are rated on those frequenting such places, or are borne by the owners. In villages where *dharat* is levied, the income therefrom goes to the lighting of the *hujra*, and of the mosque. A custom called *dharat* has obtained for generations in several villages. It is as follows: The monopoly of weighing all agricultural produce sold wholesale inside the village site belongs to the *lambardars*. They lease their right to a farmer for so much a year, or they take a fixed share of the mosques, *chouks* and *hujras*. The monopoly-holder's right, I believe, has never been challenged. Were a seller not to employ the authorised weighman, he would, I imagine, soon repent of his obstinacy, since he would suffer social ostracism, that is, be debarred from using the *chouk*. The custom has been noted, where it exists in the administration paper, but

nothing has been said as to its legality or otherwise. It is clear, however, that a seller is under no obligation to employ the *lambardar's* weighman. There is also a survival of a special house-tax on low-caste non-agriculturists levied by *lambardars* under the name of *buha* (door-way or entrance). It is something of the nature of a customary ground-rent charge. Blacksmiths, carpenters, butchers, weavers, washers, barbers and potters, if not agriculturists, pay *buha*, varying from Re.1-4-0 to Re.1 a year on each house. Where there are *hamsayahs*, the supply of quilts and food for travellers is obligatory on them : where there are none, the traveller is cared for by the villages in turn or by the *lambardar*.

In Bengal there is the well-known *mandap* in every village. This is a masonry temple, which is usually built by communal subscriptions or labour. There are one or two rooms usually attached to this communal temple which serve as rest-rooms for strangers or travellers. Offerings are made in kind, especially by the villagers who live in the vicinity of the *mandaps*, *thakurbaris*, *mahant's maths* or *gossain's sattras*, and consist of rice, paddy, home-made cloths, molasses, plantains and the other products of farms and gardens.

The temple, *math* or *sattra* store-houses are thus always full of all the material comforts valued by the people, and any stranger or traveller who will come will have his food and accommodation.

In every large village there is a place called the *barawaritola*, which is reserved for the performance of various theatrical and musical entertainments and recitals of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The *barawaris* are the occasional entertainments of a semi-religious character got up in the villages. The villagers raise a fund for their performance by means of subscriptions, or fees levied on marriages (*bhadra dakshina*), and on profits in trade, which are all credited to the village common funds in charge of the village committee or one of the leading men of the village. Though Hindus are generally the organisers, Muhammadans also subscribe willingly. In many villages

there is a *kaliasthan*, and Hindus and Muhammadans celebrate their characteristic festivals together.

There are also separate contributions or subscriptions (*marcha*) for the village schoolmaster and the priest. Another common method of raising money for the village funds is to appoint that person as the *kayal* or measurer of grain of the village who will offer the largest subscription. Such *kayals* are usually appointed every year during the *barawari* entertainments. Theatrical entertainments (*jatras*), matches between parties of professional singers (*kabi*), recitations and songs in praise of the deity (*kirtan*), or lively dances accompanied with extempore riddles in verse are all keenly enjoyed by the villagers, male and female, Hindu and Muhammadan, and sometimes thousands of rupees are spent on these from the common village funds. The worship of Manasa and Shitala, god-heads which the semi-Hinduised aborigines have added to the Hindu pantheon is also popular, and is conducted by the whole village from its common funds, while in time of epidemic when the protecting-destroying deity (Raksha Kali) is worshipped, the expenses of the worship as well as of clearing the drains, removing the filth, and burning incense and sulphur in the village are met out of the common funds. The image is set up in a public place near the mart. A canopy is spread over and mats and *daris* are laid out for the audience. In some villages *barawaris* are celebrated on a grand scale and are the occasions of large fairs, and the expenses are paid out of *britti* or collections of a certain percentage of profits of traders and merchants of surrounding villages. Street processions, singing the praises of God as well as of Chandi Mangal. Mahatsab, Astam Prahar and Chabbis Prahar, are also held, and the expenses are usually paid out of common funds or subscriptions raised by the whole village or its different wards for this purpose.

In Orissa each village has a strangers' rest-house, or *dera-ghar*, erected and maintained by the villagers, which serves as a rest-house for postmen, policemen and travellers, as the headquarters of the *chaukidar* by night, as a place of detention for offenders till the police are called and as a

common meeting-place of the villagers. The principal temples are sacred to Mahadev or Jagannath, and in the centre of the tank containing the village drinking water will be seen a small column with a pigeon-hole or two, which is sacred to the village deity. There is also the Jagannath-car which is kept in an unused lane from one Rath-jatra till another, when it is overhauled by the carpenter and decorated by the pious villagers. Most villages, too, contain a *bhagavatgadi*, a small open shed on which the Bhagavat is recited. This is invariably done during epidemics of cholera and smallpox, when the villagers assemble in three or four parties, light fires and sing the Bhagavat round them. The village *gaontia* and his council attend to the details of management of such institutions and also to the distribution of water among tanks. The *gaontia* is the more important man of the village in wealth and status, and there is often seen the custom by which each *ryot* in a village provides a ploughman and a yoke of oxen for two days at sowing-time, and a sickleman for two days at harvest-time to help the *gaontia* with his farm. This is, in fact, free and not forced labour, and corresponds with friendly customs which to this day are in vogue among farmers in England and Scotland.

Among many of the wild tribes there is the *darbar* or *mandap* house, where the bachelors of the village sleep, and the place in front is used as the village dancing-ground. The *darbar* is also the village guest-house; here are stored the provisions contributed by the villagers and made up into bundles ready for the immediate use of the guest. In the district of Angul, where the village *pradhan* or headman still receives from the people a certain percentage upon their rent, he meets these demands out of this. The expense incurred in entertaining guests, the loss incurred in supplying *rasad*, the costs of religious ceremonies held for the benefit of the whole community, and the expense of the *jatras* and other entertainments held in the village are all defrayed in this way by the headman. At the end of each year all the people, with their *sarbarahkars*, sit together and make up the accounts. Every village, too, still has its *bhagabatghar*,

or place where the sacred books are kept and read every night, and its *kothghar*, where strangers or government officials put up. For the maintenance of the former, the villagers contribute in proportion to their rental; if any stranger or acquaintance puts up in the latter, he receives hospitality from the person to whom he is known, and in other cases is entertained by the villagers generally. There is also a goddess in every village in whose honour the villagers annually perform certain ceremonies and make offerings of goats and sheep, the cost of which is met from contributions paid in proportion to their rental.

We have more than once referred to the rich and exuberant variety of public works, guest-houses, *choultris*, *chhatrams* and temples maintained by common funds in the villages of Madras. Popular entertainments are quite usual in the hot weather when all agricultural operations are at a standstill and people have plenty of time to spare. There are special castes which chiefly give the dramatic performances in the villages. Each company of players has a well-understood vested right, called by them their *mirasi* right, to perform when invited at certain stated villages, and if any rivals endeavour to oust them, there is trouble. When invited, the whole company goes over, is fed by the villagers who have sent for them, and receives for its services as much as Rs.100 a night, usually paid from the *samudayam* fund already mentioned.

Irrigation canals and channels are usually maintained and repaired by the villagers. This is particularly true as we have seen of the Panjab and Madras. In Kangra the small canals upon which cultivation in Lahul depends, are always constructed and kept in repair entirely by the landholders of the villages which use them. They are considered to be the property of the shareholders in the water, who cast lots every year to decide the rotation in which each man shall irrigate his fields. Each holding furnishes a man for repairs; fines are levied on absentees and consumed in a common feast with the produce of the *yurzheng* or canal field, if there is one. The general opinion is that no outsider can get a share of the water of a canal,

except from the body of old shareholders. In well-irrigated lands of the Panjab, the wells are generally worked under the system of *lanas* or agricultural partnerships already described. To work a well at least four pairs of bullocks are required, with a driver to each pair. If the number of pairs of bullocks is more than four per *lao* (rope), the share of each member of the *lana* in the produce per *lao*, which is of course limited, is reduced. In Assam, where there are no great irrigation works, little attempt is made to water the crops from wells, but near the hills the people grow rice on high land above the reach of flood, and bring the water of the hill streams through little channels to their fields. Such channels are constructed and repaired by the villagers themselves. In Nowgong, for instance, these are to be seen in the Kandali, Kathialali, Duar Bagari, Bhatialgaon, Barbhagia, Bhelenguri, Chalchali, Namati, Jamunamukh, Ranghkhong, Sahari, Uttarkhola and Garubat *mauzas* (villages).

The Kacharis in the submontane *mauzas* of Assam combine together to dig little *dongs*, through which they bring the water of the rivers to their rice-fields.

In Bhagalpur, the villagers usually dig and maintain the *janghas* or small canals along the bed of the river flanked by *ails* at their own expense. The *ryots* of all the villages having right of irrigation from the Danrh at first raise the *jangha*, and then the *ryots* of particular villages keep it in order during the time their respective villages are irrigated. *Bunds* or embankments everywhere are often maintained by communal labour.

PLACE AND MEANING OF INDIAN VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT IN A THEORY OF COMPARATIVE POLITY.

Decentralisation.—The provision and management of the common fund of the village for public purposes is thus an important characteristic of the Indian economic organisation. In these small republics, our village communities, there is a complete freedom of economic and financial activity directed to secure the well-being of the communities. India has accepted decentralisation as the method of social

efficiency, decentralisation in politics and administration and industrial decentralisation as well.

The Panchayet.—For the purposes of administration, the villages are broken up into main and minor sub-divisions. Each of these sub-divisions often represents a distinctive caste, craft or occupation, which is self-governed. In the *punchayet* of the village as a whole each of the diverse functional interests is represented, and the association thus no longer remains on the tribal basis of kinship, clan and adoption, but has been lifted to the plane of a distinctive polity based on a community of social and economic interests, with differentiation of structure as well as function. The *punchayetdars* are a body of men unrecognised by government, but exercising real power over the village. There is generally one representative for each caste, occupation or guild among this body, the shrewdest man being usually chosen for the post. There is no formal election; but the marked men of the village are few and well known, and a sort of tacit assent of his fellow villagers seems to constitute a man's right to join the village council. In this there is always sure to be some leader of the opposition, which perpetually demands that the account of the stewardship of the more powerful faction be submitted to the criticism of the whole village, and so keeps up a wholesome check on their proceedings. The council or *punchayet* settles everything of common interest for the village—the cultivation of any common lands, the rents to be paid for these, the realisation of grazing and hearth fees, the repair and maintenance of irrigation channels, the regulation of irrigation rights, the communal control of the village economy both in production and distribution, the employment of artisans and labourers for village public works, the building and repair of temples and *dharmshalas*, the supervising of the system of special watchmen, the cleaning of the village tanks, the repair of the village hedge, the provision of popular amusements and recreations such as village plays, chantings, the circus and such like.

Village Assemblies and British Government.—The accounts of the village funds have to be submitted

yearly for the sanction of the whole body of village proprietors. Certain other matters by general custom also need their special assent, e.g., the breaking up of jungle land, the cutting and selling of trees of the common land, the grant of a revenue-free holding and the like. All the members of the whole body of proprietors are equal, and to them such important affairs are entrusted for decision as it were by referendum. Such is the village community, a body often of heterogeneous composition, but united by close ties, self-supporting and self-supplying. So far as the method of village administration goes, it secures the advantages of city states and solves many otherwise insoluble problems of local administration, e.g., those of minority representation in the working democracies of to-day. The village assemblies in India, through all the vicissitudes in her political life, continued till before the British ascendancy to administer justice—both civil and criminal. The supreme government dealt with them and not with the inhabitants of the villages. They apportioned the revenue or tax among the inhabitants. They owned the public lands, and not the government. They consisted of elected members. We have the election rules containing the qualifications, disqualifications, etc., in detail of the electors of long ago preserved in inscriptions. But they were incompatible with the revenue system of the British government and with their administration of civil and criminal justice. The old village officials were converted by our government into government servants, and became, according to popular view, government tyrants. The village entity was not recognised and in some provinces was destroyed by legislation. The common lands became government lands. The so-called village organisations, which are the creation of British legislation or administration, bear no resemblance to the ancient assemblies.¹

It is true, of course, that the supreme respect shown to the local bodies and assemblies and their political influence waned under Muhammadan rule, but it was under the British

¹ *Vide* the note of dissent by Sir Sankaran Nair on the Indian Reforms Scheme as drafted by the government of India.

régime that their freedom in the management of local affairs was interfered with for the first time, and we see to-day the vestigial remains of the rights of village communities and townships, or their powers of local self-government, being ignored in the bureaucratic control set up by the British imperial government.

The traditions of village self-government are still fighting throughout the country the powerful forces of a centralised administration, and, in the sphere of social, economic and financial activity, the initiative, freedom and spontaneity shown by the village bodies and assemblies amply testify to the vitality of these institutions, and to the essentially democratic basis of our social and political life.

British administrators have now come to recognise that the village system offers special facilities for rural government, for repression of crime, for punishment of moral delinquencies which do not come under the purview of law, and gradually for introducing systems of communication, sanitation, education and industrial organisation adapted to the particular needs of the locality. The village system also dispenses with the necessity of a poor-law administration, for each village takes upon itself the task of securing its incapable and pauper inhabitants from starvation. From the point of view of local government the system has immense possibilities if it is only properly utilised.

Village Independent of the State.—In discussing the Indian village community with reference to local self-government, one has definitely to bear in mind that the historical origins of the Indian institutions were fundamentally different. The Indian village bodies are *sui generis*, representing a type of their own which must be sharply differentiated from corresponding institutions in modern polity. The fundamental difference is that in the latter case the state as a fully developed and constituted body consciously creates autonomous centres within itself by devolution and delimitation of its own functions; while in the former the communal institutions, such as guilds, corporations, tribal councils and village assemblies, have in their primal stage an independent origin and growth

out of fluid and inchoate conditions of tribal life and organisation, and later, when the state comes to supervene or be superimposed upon them, it has to treat with them more or less on terms of equality and recognise their pre-existing rights by conventions and agreements which operate as charters regulating their mutual relations. Thus the varied interests of the communal life, such as administrative, judicial, civil, commercial and industrial, are assured by the voluntary co-operation of independent and integral units of a common body politic. It should also be noted that the Indian development of these local bodies represents a distinctive type which must not be confounded with the rudiments of tribal self-government that invariably characterise primitive societies. For the Indian institutions have developed differentiated structures and functions of their own, while the characteristic tendency of all tribal institutions in the intermediate folk-stage is to resolve into the original mass out of which they arise. Hence the councils of chieftains and elders in tribal communities, which are the repositories of tribal customs, derive their authority direct from the primary bodies which are represented *per capita*, or by heads of families and not by organised classes, guilds and castes, as in the Indian assemblies and unions.

Village Community Predicts the Polity of the Future.—The Indian village community, representing as it does the integration of the needs and interests of diverse classes and functional groups, has created for itself permanent and constituted organs of the common life, as well as bodies of customs which regulate the rights and duties of individuals to the group and of groups to one another. The sanctions are not derived from any external authority which welds the diverse interests of the polity through one dominating central organ, but from the force of customs and usages that are of a quasi-instinctive character in their origin and growth, as well as in their cohesive and binding nature. The *punchayet* does not create the law, nor is it the convention of contracting parties that maintains it. The *punchayet* only utters the

law as the repository of a self-subsistent *dharma* that rules the counsels of men. In the end the accumulated tradition of the race is idealised as a system of social values, which, instead of being created and conserved by the sovereign fiat of a central organ, themselves create and conserve an infinite multiplicity of organs, whether in the form of guilds or castes, *sanghas* or communities, *samuhas* or classes, each of which accordingly partakes of a quasi-independent jurisdiction and participates in the common sovereignty of the *dharma* of which the community is the body. Rightly ordered and expanded on modern lines, this will furnish the basis of a new polity which in its complex co-operation and co-ordination of multiple groups will be more satisfying and successful in the state and inter-state constructions of the future than the monistic organs of the Roman and Teutonic type ; and which will be in essential keeping with our modern suggestions of syndicalist councils and labour parliaments, of international labour bureaus and Leagues of Nations, for these but carry into the international organisation of humanity the same essential principle of communalism which in its incipient form has been the ideal of the Indian polity.

CHAPTER XV.

COMMUNAL TRADE AND CREDIT.

Village Barter Trade.—A considerable portion of the trade in the country is carried on by a species of barter, without the aid of coin. The mode of paying for the services of the village labourers has been already described. In a village within five miles of Lahore, the *banya* tells me that he gets 14 seers of grain for Re.1; but if his customer shows not much willingness to purchase his things and higgles, he sells them at 13 seers per rupee. The *banya* gives me the following rates for the commutation of grain into money :—

Sugar	2½	seers	for	14	seers	of	grain	=	Re.1.
Oil	3	"	"	14	"	"	"	=	"
Gur	8½	"	"	14	"	"	"	=	"
Salt	16	"	"	14	"	"	"	=	"

These rates seldom vary. Nearly six months in the year purchases are usually all in kind, since the crops come from day to day during the harvest seasons. After the harvests the transactions are sometimes in cash. The *banya's* own estimate is out of the rupee—

12as. in kind.

4as. in money.

The supply of such articles as salt, sugar, iron and English cloth, and the distribution of flour, oil, pulses, *ghee* and other ordinary articles, to persons who do not directly share in their production, are in the hands of the *banyas* or *aroras*, though some trade is locally conducted by the villagers themselves. In the hot weather, when the bullocks would otherwise be idle, they start with their carts and bring salt, *ghee*, oil, sugar and cotton, etc., for grain. This local traffic is of immense advantage to the people, for the carters charge

prices usually lower than what the *banya* would give. When the people of the tract themselves engage in trade, the profit is still greater. But this is not usually the case, since on irrigated tracts the bullocks are seldom idle. There are, again, the wandering tribes who go from village to village with their assortment of carrots, radishes, pepper and other vegetables, and exchange them for grain. Thus, for example, a *kujra* sits in the village square and the housewives come each with her lapful of grain. There is some bargaining, but ultimately the *kujra* exchanges red pepper for double the weight of *bajra*, weighing one against the other in the scales.

Fairs and Markets.—In the fairs and places of pilgrimage a large trade is carried on. They are attended by numbers of country people and by shopkeepers who establish booths to supply their wants. In the collection of goods for export, whether by road, rail or sea, and in the distribution to the villages and towns of the various articles of import, the periodical fairs and weekly markets play an important part. They are managed either by local boards or by private persons. In the latter case the fees collected at them go into private pockets, temples or other charitable institutions.

Credit.—All the banking transactions and the larger operations of trade are exclusively in the hands of the trading classes. They have a regular system of exchange by means of bills called *hundis*, very similar to the Western system of bills of exchange. Their bills are generally made payable after a certain odd number of days (*miti*), five and twenty-one for Bhiwani, eleven for Delhi, and sixty-one for Calcutta, Bombay or Cawnpore. The rates of premium or discount (*hundawan*) vary with the state of trade and the risk (*jhonkam*) of bankruptcy (*diwala*) of the merchant. Like the bill of exchange, the *hundi* changes hands. The general rate of discount for the *hundi* is 12 annas per Rs.100 per mensem. Before the war it was 8 annas per Rs.100. The *banyas* who command credit would sell *hundis* at par value (*barti*) at 12 annas per Rs.100 per mensem. But when there is some risk of bankruptcy of the merchant

concerned, they sell at below par (*kamti*), e.g., at 6 annas per Rs.100. There is a *punchayet* of the bankers, which decides not merely social quarrels, but also financial claims. The claims are settled in a way somewhat like the following. A is the creditor. B borrows from A and writes (*shikar*) a *hundi*. A finds that B is unreliable and sells the *hundi* to C at below par. C accepts it because A's connection has added credit (*biswas*) to B. If C cannot recover the amount from B, the amount will be divided between A, B and C in proportions fixed by the *punchayet*. They never seek the protection of the courts. If any merchant refuses to obey the decisions of the *punchayet*, the money market is closed for him (*bazar bunda*); he is an outcaste. And he remains so until he obeys the decision and performs *prayaschi* or penance in addition by feeding a hundred Brahmans, giving away a cow and bathing in the river. Most of the important cities and trade centres have their indigenous banking associations and *punchayets* with their particular circles of guild jurisdiction, which embrace all the merchants and bankers of the region, and the control such guilds and their headmen exercise in the directions of fixing the rates of exchange, and discount and the rate of interest, settling commercial disputes, levying fees on certain transactions and spending the proceeds on humane and religious objects, etc., has contributed to a high degree of integrity and mutual trust among these classes of people, and the development of commercial law in the country on a strictly democratic and ethical basis.

Agricultural Credit.—The *banya* is also the *sowcar*. The rate of interest is generally Rs.2 per month or 24 per cent. per annum. Another common rate is 1 pie per rupee per month or 18½ per cent. The interest for the first month is usually deducted when the *sowcar* gives the cash. For marriage and *sraddha*, the rate of interest is 1 anna per rupee or 75 per cent. for the days prior to the ceremony, during which money is advanced from time to time. After the marriage the rate is Rs.2 per month or 24 per cent. The peasants also borrow from one another. The common rate is Re.1 or Rs.1-8 per month. When the *banya* makes an advance in grain

to be repaid in kind, the usual stipulation is that one and a quarter times the amount advanced is to be repaid at harvest, whether that be one month or six months distant when the *banya* commutes the grain into money. The standard price of grain is that of the 15th of June of the year.

Mortgages.—Mortgage credit is well known. Mortgages, when not followed by free sales, indicate prosperity, not poverty. Free mortgage and little sale is the sign of a comparatively strong estate; the weaker estates are compelled to sell outright. In a prosperous village community mortgages are very often not due to any real pressure of debt, but represent merely a method of raising money temporarily required, e.g., an expensive marriage or a *sraddha*. Mortgages without possession are very uncommon. A peasant will not advance money to another unless he gets land into his possession sufficient to yield a fair return; while the money-lending classes give credit on running accounts, or, if the borrower's credit is not good, on land transferred to them. But the peasants seldom allow an outsider to acquire permanently any land in a village community. The right of pre-emption is generally claimed, and insisted upon. Every well-to-do peasant who has saved some money endeavours to invest it in a mortgage of land, and some of them are able to establish very large money-lending transactions. In a poor tract, however, there is heavy indebtedness, and the *sowcars* displace the peasants so far as money-lending business is concerned. Then there are free mortgage and free sale, and the introduction of the Panjab Alienation Act in 1904 is regarded by the peasants as the most beneficent measure passed by government within their memories. They think that if the government had not interfered, the whole land would have passed to the *banyas*. On the other hand, in prosperous tracts, where the right of pre-emption is operative, the attitude of the people towards the Act is at best one of interested curiosity. Throughout the country, however, a class of land-less day labourers is gradually but inevitably developing. The mistaken individualistic interpretation of our customary laws relating to land and family inheritance, the free mort-

gage and transfer of land, the fragmentation of holdings till these are incapable of maintaining an independent peasantry, the gradual encroachment of exploitative corn dealers and exporting agents into the domain of agricultural credit, the multiplication of revenue farmers and middlemen, who eat up a great portion of the profits of agriculture—all these are contributing slowly but inevitably to the decay of the village community and farm tenancy and the disintegration of the communal agriculture. It is only communal credit and finance, assimilated to the best ideals of co-operative credit and sale in the West, that can stay the agrarian revolution which is fast approaching, and which both the economist and the statesman may well seriously ponder over from now.

Money-lending.—The grant of loans on what is called paddy interest is common throughout India. In the south, for instance, loans are advanced on so many kalams of paddy, whatever may be its price at the time, and are repaid for every Rs.100 borrowed. Sometimes the professional money-lender would advance loans on condition that he should be repaid in harvest time in paddy rated at a money value far below the current market price; whatever be his method, the interest he demands varies from 12 to 15 per cent. The money-lending cultivator seldom demands more than 18 per cent., and, when he can be found, he is naturally preferred. The more harmless methods of borrowing money are provided by *elanithis* and *puchits*, which form so common a feature in village life in all parts of Madras. The land, however, is here seldom passing to the non-agricultural classes. Even if a *chetti* or a *komati* forecloses a mortgage, he rarely keeps the land so obtained for any length of time. He has so little knowledge of farming that he could not manage it himself and would be cheated by any sub-tenant to whom he let it. He knows, moreover, how to get better interest for his money. The majority of the weavers are in the hands of capitalists usually *natukata-chettis* or *komatis*, who supply them with the thread and pay them piece-work wages, and themselves arrange for the sale and export of the finished article. The result of their

labours finds its principal markets in Penang, Singapore and Sumatra.¹

Nidhis.—We have already referred to agricultural loans being advanced to cultivators from the village funds. In the south a characteristic banking institution is the *nidhi*. In South Arcot there are three *nidhis*—one at Cuddalore and another at Chidambaram, both with a capital of Rs.399,960—and a third at Villupuram, with a capital of Rs.129,942. I saw a *pothunidhi* in Kovilur in Trichinopoly district. Loans are advanced for cultivation. The money lent out per cultivator is not above Rs.20. It is repayable within three months, and the interest is Rs.6. There seems to be a wide room for more of these *nidhis*, which can be well adapted to the methods and ideals of the co-operative credit of the West.

Contributions for Social Betterment.—We now come to a very characteristic feature of Indian internal trade. Throughout the country a portion of the rate of profit is always set apart for religious social or philanthropic purposes. In the South, this is called *mahimai*. The *mahimai* of the *natukatachettis* (*nagarathars* relating to cities) is by far the most well-known. This trading community is distributed among ninety-six towns and nine temples. The fees of marriage, cremation and other auspicious or inauspicious occasions go to the *mahimai* collections, as also fines levied for social misbehaviour or in connection with the disputes relating to monetary claims. There are accountants—*kanakapillais*—in charge of the collections, and the fines are utilised for the repairs and maintenance of temples, *choultris*, hospitals, guest-houses, gardens, *nandopabanams* (Sanskrit *patshalas*), public wells and even schools.² One of the clans I found spending the *mahimai* derived from the collection of Rs.5 or Rs.10 per profit of Rs.1,000 in the repair of the famous temples of Rameswaram

¹ See my *Foundations of Indian Economics* for a detailed description of the indigenous systems of credit.

² In Chidambaram the *chettis* have formed a fund for the renovation of the great temple and other similar restorations, which is made up of a fee of 4 annas per cent. levied from their clients on all sums borrowed by the latter. The capital of this is invested and the interest therefrom devoted exclusively to such undertakings.

and of Kaliyar and of the *choultris* in the Kandhadevi and Uppur. In many villages in the southern districts of Madras, especially those in which the Shanans and Paravans preponderate, members of a caste collect a small subscription from those who trade in the local markets; *kaikkilaiyans* sometimes pay a fixed sum on every loom to common purse, and the Muhammadan weavers do the same. In Kallidai-kurchi, the rich Brahman traders, bankers and capitalists have organised a regular fund of this kind. The objects of expenditure are usually the support of temples, mosques and churches owned by the contributors. In the villages, on the coast, where fishing is the chief occupation of the people, contributions levied rateably on the daily catch of fish are paid to a common fund for the support of the church or temple; for instance, every bundle of sea-fish contributes Re.1 to the *pothupanam*. On a particular day in a week, boatmen and fishermen, instead of outbidding one another in their higgling with the middlemen, agree to allow a particular middleman to monopolise the sale of the fish in the nearest market for the day, on his paying a fixed sum determined by auction, which goes to the village funds (*kuthadey*). When sharks are washed ashore, the village barber cuts the fins with his scissors and gives them to the contractor, on condition that he pays a portion of his profits to the common funds.

Among Muhammadan traders, brokers and contractors, who migrate to Ceylon and Singapore, where they set up as importers of goods from the Indian mainland and as general dealers in all kinds of grocery and haberdashery, contributions are levied rateably on profits, generally Rs.2½ on Rs.40 (*zakath*) for the support of mosques and Arabic schools in the districts of Ramnad and Madura. Orphan boys from Penang, Malaya and Ceylon come and are given free board and lodging either in the *madrasah* or in the houses of the neighbouring Muhammadans. When immigrants to the Malaya are carried in boat on their way to the steamer each boat-owner contributes 2½ annas for every trip. The *mahimai* is collected by contractors and boat-owners and devoted to the maintenance of the temple of Negapatam.

In Madura, among the Vaishya *komulis*, the sources of *mahimai* are from each house :

1. A contribution of a pie per rupee on profit ;
2. A subscription of Rs.5 for the Navaratram ;
3. The levy of fines in kind in the shape of bronze for the violation of caste rules ;
4. Subscription of Rs.6 on the occasion of a marriage in the family.

The expenditure of the Navaratra festival, as well as two days' festival of Meenakshi, is met out of the *mahimai* collections. The community also receives Alagarswami in the famous procession at two *mandapams* on the way. Several public *chhatrams* are also maintained out of communal funds.

These contributions to the common fund for the maintenance of works of public utility and services which often amount to thousands and even hundreds of thousands and are extensive and all-embracing in their scope may themselves be distinguished as regards their origin, meaning and purposes. Among the Muhammadans, for instance, there is the type of the *zakath*, a religious obligation to contribute $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the income which takes the individual as a social unit without reference to his functional group, and lays down his duty to the community of believers at large. This is to be distinguished from the caste or guild contributions of the Vantias, the Komatis, the Chettis, the Shanans, the Marwaris, etc., which form a distinct type of public financing in communal bodies and associations which collect rateable contributions from the traders in their particular groups for works of general religious merit and public service as well as for caste maintenance and conservation. This is an organised form of voluntary co-operation which shows the possibilities and potentialities of communal experiments in public finance. One part of this income has a peculiar character which deserves notice, viz., the levy of fines or fees on the judicial finding or decision of the tradespeople or the *punchayet*, or it may be a special conference of the community in respect of offences or delinquencies against public well-being or social morality.

This is an indication of the strength of the communal bond which can bear so severe a test. For example, on a recent occasion in Calcutta *lakhs* of rupees were unhesitatingly paid as fines by Marwari traders convicted of adulteration of *ghee* (clarified butter) on the finding of a Marwari conference. But this vital organisation of communal assessment through the voluntary co-operation of groups having an elaborate and all-embracing scheme to realise cesses on profits and fines on caste or trade immorality has suffered a partial lapse in Brahmanical and Brahmanised communities which have developed on the other hand a great deal of individual and family responsibility (as for instance in Bengal under the *Dayabhaga* and in the Benares school under the *Mitakshara*) in connection with *debottar*, *brahmottar*, *dohli*, *punkhata* and other estates, and discharge the responsibility for the maintenance of public works such as tanks, temples, *dharmshalas*, *pinjrapols* and *chhatrams*, through legalised charges on family patrimony. Even here in the castes which have not come yet under the dominating influence of the Brahmans—as, for instance, amongst many of the artisans and trading groups of Bengal—there exist customary and occasional contributions of the members of a group for collective caste or general public purposes under the direction and initiative of the heads of families, *mandals* or headmen, including the levy of fines for the maintenance of social morality. Such purposes include not merely public amusements and festive gatherings, but also charity and relief to members of the caste and in this these castes differ from the higher classes of the Brahmanised communities.

The Village Temple and its Activities.—With our rich Dravidian heritage of communal instinct it is very sad to reflect that the inroads of individualism have affected the upper classes and castes of Bengal as to have atrophied the capacity for communal or group action in diverse fields even for imperative social ends. Still in the social code of the Brahmanised communities establishing temples, hospitals, schools, lakes, tanks, wells and cisterns, feeding the poor, giving them clothes, entertaining travellers, providing milk

for infants, rendering aid to pregnant women, planting trees or groves, came and now come under *poortha* acts enjoined upon householders as procuring religious merit. Householders still practise this *danadharma* or the religion of service for the promotion of the public good. Such institutions are usually associated in this country with the temple or shrine which combines religious worship, education and relief of want, suffering and disease. They were and are still managed by the village or communal bodies and associations in such a way as would meet with the general approval of the people. Communalism correlates and co-ordinates the different activities relating to social betterment.

The temple is primarily intended not for the Brahmans only, but for all classes of the people, and its endowments are utilised not only for religious services, but also for education and the relief of poverty and suffering. Secondly, the grants under which endowments are made are not personal grants to individuals, but are intended for the maintenance of the charitable and religious institutions, and the promotion of communal welfare as understood by the people, the public having a decisive voice in the management and the utilisation of any surplus for works of public utility. Lastly, grants and endowments to such public institutions are also constantly being made by the large trading communities, which are distributed among a great number of towns and villages. Their charities are not confined to caste maintenance, or to the support of their communal temples and local institutions, but are all-embracing in their scope. The machinery for the collection of cesses and rateable contributions is extensive, and it expands and ramifies till it encompasses every field of trade activity. Such a type of public financing, not bound by the limits of the caste, group, guild or village, but emphasising the responsibility of the body of merchants and traders for the maintenance of works of general public utility such as schools, hospitals and charitable associations, and the promotion of social well-being as understood in the social code, already shows the potentialities of communalism when it expands and progressively adapts itself to meet the larger needs of national life.

CHAPTER XVI.

SOME TYPES OF COMMUNALISM, EASTERN AND WESTERN.

Public Spirit in Indian Communal Life.—One of the most characteristic and unfortunate features of Western economic life is that industry is diverted from social uses. Not merely is there hostility, separating one industrial class from another, but industry is divorced from art and religion, the all-important factors which lie at the basis of social solidarity.

In India communalism implies the mutual recognition of rights and duties among classes, and mutual respect and esteem. The village commonwealth has cultivated a communal conscience which punishes an attack on public rights and public property whether by individuals or classes. But the most remarkable feature, fully explained in the previous chapter, is the recognition of the principle that some portion of profit, whether of the agriculturist or the artisan or the trader, should be set apart for the satisfaction of other than industrial needs. Among our village communities, the cultivators contribute to the common village fund. The village tax on trade, or on artisans, the market fees charged to outsiders or the proceeds of the common lands, are credited to the *malba*, or the *samudayam*. Thus every class contributes to the common fund; and if the *chuhra*, *nai* and *dom*, the *mahar*, or the *tothi* are exempt, it is simply because they are utterly impure and no one would accept a gift at their hands. The washermen are exempt for a similar reason so long as they exercise their filthy calling. *Dakauts* are exempt because they are considered unlucky.

The agriculturist sets apart a heap of grain for the common

expenses of the village before he divides the grain between himself and the tenant or the money-lender. The artisan and the trader resident in the village pays the hearth tax. An outsider selling or purchasing grain in the village pays a market tax. And when a girl of the village is married and the wedding procession comes for her, the village receives a fee from the bridegroom's father, and if he has drums beaten he must pay an extra fee called "village expenses" (*khera kharach*).

The common fund is, as we have seen, spent for these purposes :

1. Every village keeps a guest-house to the countryside. A traveller who has no friends in a village puts up as a matter of course in the common room of the village and is given food and tobacco free.

2. The village gate, the village shrines, the *chhatram*, the *chawadi*, the *dharmshala*, the irrigation channels, the drinking wells and other public structures are maintained and repaired and occasionally new ones built.

3. An artisan or labourer settling for the first time in the village receives some pecuniary help to enable him to start fairly.

4. Charity to beggars, and small religious offerings made on occasions in the name of the village.

5. To meet expenses of village festivals such as the Holi and Diwali, the Navratra or the Oram.

6. Common charges such as an allowance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ a day to the headmen when attending courts on behalf of the village community, cost of stationery for the *patwari*, etc.

7. Provision for recreations, amusements, chantings, and plays.

In all these we see the operation of a vital principle of public well-being governing the conduct of individuals and classes in communal life. A high standard of public morality is forced upon apathetic or hostile individuals, and modifies their ethical feeling and judgment. Indeed, these forms of communal life and institutions have a great capacity for progressive development for the building up of a complex

structure in adaptation to the more complex needs of a progressive economic and social life.

The Western Parish and the Indian Village.—The system of the village parish in Europe, with its local tithes and rates for meeting the collective needs of the locality, which is the historical outcome of the organisation of the mediæval economic life, presents remarkable features of similarity with the Indian village community, and awaits a fuller development within the jurisdiction of the modern state, as Carlyle preached, though his disregard for the democratic ideals of the age rendered his teaching unacceptable. In the West the strong central political organisation which was developed out of the ruins of the feudal system nourished itself by wresting all the powers and privileges which were distributed among different local bodies in the older system. In India the state could never become so strong a body as to aggrandise itself by sucking the blood of the other organs of the body politic. Thus, "neither ancient nor modern history in Europe can show a system of local self-government more scientifically planned, nor one which provided more effective safeguards against abuses, than that which was worked out by Aryan philosophers as the social and political basis of Indo-Aryan religion." In the West centralisation in the body politic also developed simultaneously with unregulated individualism and competition in the body economic. The state having no limits to its functions is itself the cause and effect of an unlimited individualism. In India, though individual rights of property were conceded as economic life progressed, they never received the exaggerated emphasis they have been given in the West. Proprietary institutions based on communal rights and privileges, great powers exercised by local administrative bodies, social institutions such as caste, and joint family and *samaj*—which is a school of ethics and a safeguard against industrial dislocation and individual necessity—all tend to maintain the integrity and independence of the communal forms of organisation in India, not to speak of the effects of ethical and religious ideals on our social structure. In the West not only were these

tendencies and influences absent, but there were counter-influences and tendencies to break up the manor and destroy the intimate social and economic relationships of the village community. And to-day the encroachment of the omnipotent modern state on the functions that used to be exercised by the parish and other local jurisdictions, the undue emphasis of individual property rights, as also the confusion and ruin brought about by the crude industrial system, have well-nigh obliterated the characteristic features of the village and parish communities of the West, and are threatening to bring about a similar *débâcle* also in Indian communal life. But the communal instincts and organisations still preserve a remarkable vitality in India, and even to-day are fighting the effective weapons of the modern state and the forces of the present industrial revolution. The hope of saving the economic situation lies in conserving and developing the communal sense and habits as well as the organisations to hold in check the disruptive forces and tendencies of modern industry, characterised by an unethical competition and an anti-social individualism, and to furnish the basis of the social fabric in the coming industrial order where the apparent conflict between the communalism of the East and the competition of the West will be set at rest in a harmonious realisation of the ends of social well-being and culture.

Communalism not Unprogressive.—Western writers, though they recognise the place and importance of communal institutions in the early beginnings of social evolution, think that communal instincts have now outgrown their uses, and that a rehabilitation of these in latter-day social institutions is bound to be accompanied by stagnation and degeneration. This is due to their bias and prejudice, their partial analysis and insufficient investigation. It is for this reason that Western observers are surprised to see the rise of new village communities, self-contained and independent, by the side of those which India had known from very ancient times. In the new Chenab Colony, for example, the villages are developing into self-sufficient units with the supply of regular village employees. In peasant villages the

artisans and labourers are usually drawn from the parent villages of the grantees, who prefer association with hereditary dependents, not only because they know and trust them, but also because such dependents necessarily take a part in all the great festivals and ceremonies of their lives. In a homogeneous village there is accordingly a strong tendency towards the reproduction of the old community. In a heterogeneous village the communal system is reproduced in all essentials, thus showing the survival of communalism in the selection of economic habits and institutions in adaptation to the physiographical conditions of the country and the social instincts of the people. If the communal instincts and institutions are so deeply rooted, it is quite easy to see that, instead of ploughing up the economic garden beyond recognition and levelling it down by the steam-roller of machine-industrialism, it will be more prudent and wholesome to recultivate it and destroy the weeds and jungle which are obstructing the growth and efflorescence of the natural and beautiful vegetation of the Indian village. The renewal of economic life, and of culture and art, will come from the fields in India. In the village there are not stereotyped forms but endless varieties of social and economic co-operation for the defence and promotion of common interest. The shibboleth that it is the individualistic types of society that are alone progressive is to be discarded for ever. Then alone can communalism as a constructive principle in social experiments in the East be directed towards the ends of progress.

The Russian Artel and Mir.—There is one country in the West—viz., Russia—which has exhibited fruitful experiments in communalistic organisation, economic, social, and political, which have their origin in the remote past, and which are still effective under modern industrial conditions. The similarity of structure and functions between the Russian *artel* (workers' guild or co-operative union) and the Indian occupational guild, and between the Russian *mir* and the Indian village community, is unmistakable; and, since the importance of these Russian institutions at this time can hardly be over-estimated, we will study them

in some detail,¹ following their descriptions by well-known writers on the institutions and spirit of Russia.

The *artel*, or co-operative guild, is a famous and ancient institution in Russia which has its origin in the earliest known communities, but is still a leading characteristic of Russian economy. Bubnoff, in his admirable monograph, *The Co-operative Movement in Russia*, following the Russian law, gives *artels*, industrial and agricultural, the first place in his classification of Russian co-operative societies. We will return to M. Bubnoff's description of the *artel* as an existing institution; but first we will trace its origin and development so that we may see how far what may be called the natural development of co-operation arrives at anything approaching the same form as co-operation which has been developed by men who clearly saw the end before them and who adapted their means to conditions prevalent in our time.

The origin of the *artel* is traceable to the family. The most primitive unit of the Russian Slavs was the family. The social organisation of the ancient Russians was of a communal character. However, it no way resembled the *mir*, the most historic and characteristic of Russian institutions, and the broadest and firmest foundation for Russian constitutionalism and democracy. The *mir* is a village community which has been permitted and even encouraged to continue as a world in itself. It acts as a unit, both for taxation and general local purposes. The *mir* has continued to be a school of democracy and self-government. The communism of the *mir* is confined to collective property, purely nominal of the soil, and to a common financial and economic responsibility towards the power of the state. The communism of the ancient family group was profoundly economic; it was a communism of production and consumption. The members of the group not only owned the soil destined for agriculture, but also tilled in company. Apart from agriculture, they carried on collectively a whole series of other callings; they had meadows, fisheries and apiaries in common. Working collectively, they lived in an

¹ For these details I am indebted to an instructive article in a recent issue of *The Irish Homestead* (May, 1919).

enormous *isbah* of timber. Although in most cases the communal group consisted of kinsfolk, the fundamental basis of the union was not kinship, but an economic tie, as in the Indian village communities. The bond of kinship became loosened in Russia on account of nomadic habits and migrations over the vast steppes, but the form of production and consumption remained communal. In India, though kinship is still a factor, the bond of economic co-operation which is the cementing principle of the village community represents a higher stage of social integration than the organisations which may be traced to original models furnished by hunting expeditions and migratory ventures. "We should be greatly mistaken," says Pokrobsky, *Russian History*, Vol. I., "were we to attribute too prominent a place to kinship. Kinship was customary, but not indispensable. A similar economy was also organised by people who were entirely unrelated to one another and associated by conventions." During these ten years all was common among the members, property, moveable and otherwise, gear, live stock, revenue and expenditure. This association was known as a "family." When the term fixed expired, this "family" group could dissolve, and its goods were then shared equally among its members.

This is clearly an indication of communal spirit; and, though in some respects resembling the "clan" system, undoubtedly was of a more economic nature than the clan. There are no indications that family pride was a strong motive in the Russian community group, nor do we read of a chieftain or noble family, though inter-family warfare was not unknown. The elders of the group controlled the whole. Thus we see that in some respects the Russian group was more advanced than the clan, though the government of the elders savours somewhat of very primitive organisations.

Formation and Scope of the Artel.—The communal life of Russia not only expressed itself in the primitive form indicated above, but, as life became more complex and it was necessary for labourers to move from place to place seeking work, and as certain specified industries became fixed in definitely industrial districts, the communal form persisted.

Thus we find villages devoted to certain specified manufactures, in which these manufactures are carried on on communal lines, and the workers organise themselves into *artels*: Lavollie (*Classes Ouvrières en Europe*) notes migrations of carpenters, coopers, etc., in the town of Taganrog, near the mouth of the river Don, who, on arriving in the town, organise themselves in *artels*, elect a chief, and are hired for the season for a collective pay, arranged with the chief of the *artel*. Even in factories the workers form themselves naturally into groups, and where the group system of work is not possible, they establish communal houses.

Indeed, the *artel* or group system pervades every kind of activity among the Russian people. We cannot do better than quote from Prince Kropotkin, where he treats the modern Russian *artel* from the point of view of co-operation. He says: "It is, however, Russia which offers perhaps the best field for the study of co-operation under an infinite variety of aspects. In Russia it is a natural growth, an inheritance from the middle ages; and, while a formally established co-operative society would have to cope with many legal difficulties, the informal co-operation—the *artel*—makes the very substance of Russian peasant life."

Even the excesses of Soviet and Bolshevik councils have been possible in Russia because the Russian *moujik* has in his blood deep-seated communal instinct which has expressed itself in all Russian history, in land organisation and agrarian distribution, in workmen's *artel* and agriculturists' association, in *zemstvo* and *mir*, or in the monastic brotherhood. But it may be that these cataclysmic disturbances may, in a profounder interpretation of universal history, be read as the first travails of a new order of social and economic democracy which the Russian *moujik* alone among the folks and peoples of the West may have been fitted by centuries of suffering and humiliation to proclaim to a despairing and distracted world in the hour of doom pronounced on a civilisation that has been weighed in the scales and found wanting.

The history of the making of Russia and of the colonisation

of Siberia is a history of the hunting and trading *artels* or guilds, followed by village communities, and at the present time we find the *artel* everywhere; among each group of ten to fifty peasants who come from the same village to work at a factory, in all the building trades, among fishermen and hunters, among convicts on their way to and in Siberia, among railway porters, exchange messengers, custom-house labourers, everywhere in the village industries which give occupation to 7,000,000 men—from top to bottom of the working world, permanent and temporary, for production and consumption under all possible aspects.

Until now many of the fishing grounds on the tributaries of the Caspian Sea are held by immense *artels*, the Ural river, belonging to the whole of the Ural Cossacks, who allot and re-allot the fishing grounds—perhaps the richest in the world—among the villages without any interference of the authorities. Fishing is always carried out by *artels* in the Ural, the Volga and all the lakes of Northern Russia. We see similar allotments of fishing grounds among the fishermen's castes in India in the great rivers, for instance, in Eastern Bengal; or in the sea, as in Puri, Madras, Tuticorin, or in the Cochin backwaters. Besides these permanent organisations, there are in Russia the simply countless temporary *artels*, constituted for each special purpose. When ten or twenty peasants come from some locality to a large town to work as weavers, carpenters, masons, boat-builders and so on, they all constitute an *artel*. They hire rooms, hire a cook (very often the wife of one of them acts in this capacity), elect an elder, and take their means in common, each one paying his share for food and lodging to the *artel*. It is characteristic that in India peripatetic blacksmiths, carpenters and sawers of timber follow the same practice. A party of convicts on its way to Siberia also acts as a body, and its elected leader is the officially-recognised intermediary between the convicts and the military chiefs of the party. For hard labour prisons the organisation is similar. The railway porters, the messengers at the exchange, the workers at the custom house, the town messengers in the capitals who are col-

lectively responsible for each member, have so good a reputation for integrity that any amount in money or bank-notes is entrusted to the *artel* member by the merchants. Among the Indian boatmen who bring jute, cotton and timber in heavy-laden cargo boats for export from the rural districts to the trade centres, there is a similar collective responsibility, and wholesale merchants repose great confidence in these transport workers. In the building trade *artels* of from ten to 200 members are formed; the responsible builders and railway contractors in Russia, as well as in India, prefer to deal with a group than with separately hired workers.

Artel a Recognised Russian Institution.—The last attempts of the Ministry of War to deal directly with productive *artels*, formed *ad hoc* in the domestic trades, and to give them orders for boots and all sorts of brass and iron goods, are described as most satisfactory; while the renting of a state iron-works (*vollkinsk*) to an *artel* of workers, which took place seven or eight years ago, has been a decided success.

Bubnoff, in his *Co-operative Movement in Russia*, devotes several pages to a description of the *artels* as they existed in 1917. They are defined in Russian law as “associations formed to carry out specific units of work, or to carry on certain industries or render personal services on the joint responsibility of the *artels* and for their joint account.”

We thus see that this primitive form of co-operative association has so far established itself as to be recognised by the modern law of Russia.

Four types of labour *artels* are distinguished by Bubnoff :

1. Where all members contribute equally towards the means of production and existence, but where the earnings are devoted in proportion to the work done by each member.
2. Where the *artel* borrows the capital it requires, either from among its members or from an outside source.
3. Where a capitalist employs an *artel* to do work for him.
4. *Artels* which avail themselves exclusively of hired labour.

The first type of *artel* predominates in the *kustar* or home industries. Though there are many workers who work as individuals, the greater number form *artels* of more or less permanence. Their permanence naturally depends upon the nature of the work, and in the purely seasonal trades they frequently are formed for the working season only. They seem to vary greatly in size, and occasionally reach the dignity of a large factory. As an instance of this, there is a lock-making factory in Pavlovo, which employs 300 men, of whom 125 are members. In this instance it would seem that the personal element was introduced, since this "*artel* was formed by A. D. Strange, who was working on certain improvements in the manufacture of locks." It has a capital of nearly £10,000, and a turn-over of about £20,000.

Besides the industrial *artels* mentioned by Kropotkin, there are also agricultural *artels*, such as flax-scutching, butter-making, egg-collecting and selling, for the conversion and sale of agricultural produce, for all the activities of rural or city life. *Artels*, which represent a characteristic and old feature of Russian life, have adapted themselves to modern conditions with great facility. Russia, indeed, affords an eminent example of co-operative practice while the theory of co-operation has grown in other and apparently less promising fields in the West. (4)

Other European Co-operative Institutions.—Of late years, since the spread of the co-operative movement as known in Western Europe into Russia, the *artel* tends to merge in the co-operative society, and it is probable that it will take something approaching the form of co-operative societies in other lands. At the same time, there are in Italy associations of workmen which resemble to a large extent the *artel*; the *braccianti* who hire themselves out for navvies' work, and the *muratori* who do bricklaying and masonry, are examples of these. Many of the Italian railways have been constructed largely by sub-contracts, given to the *braccianti*, who work as organised bodies under the head contractor. These are not so primitive in origin as the *artels*, but were formed to meet the problem of

unemployment in Northern Italy. Again in Switzerland and the Alps, the cheese-making societies called *fruitières*, and in the Pyrenées called *cabanes* or *baraqués*, are also early examples of co-operative production known long before the advent of modern co-operation. The system of co-operative labour like that represented by the *artels*, the *braccianti* and the *muratori* is quite familiar in India among the class of landless day labourers who can be hired out for tank and road repairs, bricklaying, earthen and masonry work.

True Principles of Co-operative Development.—A grave blunder is committed when the modern co-operator ignores the indigenous forms of co-operation. Whether in Russia or India, easy and natural development can come only on the bed-rock of the original and essential co-operation that has its basis in the ancient socio-economic traditions of the people. In the co-operative society our aim should be to adapt, in a manner suitable to modern conditions, the organisation of the Indian joint family ; in the co-operative system of labour our aim should be to rehabilitate the organisation of hired labour which works for a collective pay under an elected chief ; in industrial and agricultural co-operation our aim should be to revive the communal employment of artisans and labourers in our villages ; in the co-operative store our aim should be to revive the economic ideal of the village community which undertakes by collective production the satisfaction of the collective needs of the people ; in co-operative social, educational and philanthropic efforts our aim should be to adapt to modern social and cultural needs the ancient traditions relating to the communal support of school and temples, the professional and the social classes, and the communal machinery and agencies of popular education and social recreation ; in the co-operative federations our aim should be to expand and develop the Indian village by linking together in a central establishment the indigenous village bodies, assemblies and groups which are exercising, as they have done from time immemorial, the functions of local self-government and economic management. In the trade-unions our aim should be to build up organisations in the towns from

their working classes which will appeal to the spirit of the village artisans' and city craftsmen's guilds. In the larger unions and federations of agrarian and industrial societies, which will ultimately grow to national dimensions forming a great co-operative commonwealth, our aim should be to produce from all groups a *samaj* such as India produced from its trading classes. The erection and maintenance by the village community in India of its public works, wells, tanks, and irrigation channels, the meeting-house, the temple or mosque, the school and the guest-house, constitute notable experiments in communal endeavour. Even now a considerable part of the system of minor irrigation is still maintained by private charity and communal labour, while each member of the village community is still required to contribute his share of the labour or funds required for the erection and upkeep of the school, the temple or the guest-house. Successful administration depends upon its capacity to avail itself as much as possible of the existing social habits in this regard, or to revive them in similar forms, thereby lessening the expense and the difficulty of central authorities in supervision and management of details which are left to indigenous local bodies and assemblies. Whether in the maintenance of roads and communications, the local distribution of water supply from irrigation channels, or the upkeep of schools, temples and philanthropic institutions, the traditional obligation of the village community to look after them should be definitely recognised, and should be revived if it is becoming extinct; this will lead not only to more ease and efficiency in administration, but also, by strengthening and developing local initiative, it will lead to the adaptation of the economic and social habits themselves to the complex needs of to-day. For instance, the advance from a *dharmshala* and a *maktab*, a common-room and a meeting-house, which the village has provided for itself already, to an agricultural school or a technical institute, addressing itself to the specific agricultural or industrial needs of the village, is not a great step, provided that there are educated men inspired with missionary zeal to live and work amidst the people in their

cottages, fields and workshops. From the village gate or temple, with its elaborate ornamentation expressing the artistic and architectural genius of the village, to an art school and museum, is not a great step, provided that popular art-consciousness is aroused, and directed to a proper channel by skilled and educated artists and craftsmen; and if anyone doubts that the establishment of a communal workshop to utilise the raw material of industries in the village without exporting them, or of a communal power-house to transmit electricity to the artisans' cottages for the loom and the lathe, is impossible for want of proper education in the village, the ability of the villagers shown in the varied forms of co-operative irrigation enterprise will be a revelation.

Irrigation—An Example of Village Communal Enterprise.—Village irrigation works are most elaborate in their nature and planned with the greatest attention to details and to the interests of the various qualities of land. The annual floods of the rivers are conveyed by irrigation cuts, sometimes more than a mile long, to the embanked *kunds* which have been constructed by the villagers with great labour. In the early part of the season, when the floods are high, there is generally enough water for every one, and each cultivator whose field is irrigable is allowed to take as much water as he wants at any time; but when the floods fall, and the water supply grows scanty, it is necessary to arrange for its distribution. The peasants are divided into four bodies, called *thoks*, including 117 shares, called *pagris*, in the following proportions, 30, 30, 28, 29, and each individual proprietor has a fixed share in his *thok*. When it becomes necessary to arrange for distributing the supply of water in the irrigation channel from the river, the four *thoks* cast lots (*gune*) for the first turn by drawing balls of mud distinguished from one another by having or not having a piece of stick concealed inside. The cultivators go on casting lots in this way, until the turn (*vara*) of each sharer has been determined. Each *thok* takes the whole of the water for twenty-four hours at a time, so that its turn comes round every fourth day; the twenty-four hours are divided into day and night, and half the *thok* takes the

water for a day one turn and for a night next turn : this is to make up for the inequality of the day and night which are determined by the sunrise and sunset.

They have also a very clever and elaborate way of adjusting the turns, so that the *thok* having 28 shares gets a little less water than the *thok* having 29 shares, and that again less than 30 share *thoks*. Two responsible men are placed with a water-clock at the head of the channel where it enters the embankment, and they time the turn of each share by the water-clock, having determined by experiment how many *gharis* as measured by their clock go to the day or to the night. If a share includes a fraction of a *ghari* they determined the end of the turn by guess. When one man's turn is over they shout out to him to close his branch of the irrigation channel, and to the next man to open his. There is even a custom by which the man whose turn comes first after the opening of the common channel has the loss by percolation in the dry bed made up to him (*pauh*) ; he is allowed, when his turn ends, to put in a stick (*ringa*) to mark the depth of the water, and when the channel is finally closed he is allowed to take all the water below that level. This is a most interesting and instructive instance of the ability of the peasants to manage their common affairs, and to work an elaborate co-operative enterprise with fairness to all concerned.

Sometimes the small irrigation cuts (*baggi*) are made by the individual cultivators, but the large distributory channels (*nala*) are made and cleaned out when necessary by the whole body of cultivators dependent on them for irrigation, the work being distributed over them in the same way as the water. The repairs to the embankments (*ber*) and ditches (*khati*) of the *kunds* are made in the same way by the whole body of cultivators interested.

When more villages than one have a common irrigation channel, they are not allowed to widen the entrances (*dahana*) of their respective branches, or to draw water from the common channel by means of lever bags (*chambal*).

In some villages it is not unusual for a large number of villagers to co-operate in making a well and in irrigating

from it. They usually fix on their shares before starting the undertaking and allow a share to each bullock equal to that of a man, and sometimes allot shares to the individuals whose land is made use of for irrigation. The shares are generally numerous, sometimes as many as 37, and the partners pay for the cost of the well in proportion to their shares, cultivate and irrigate the land in common, and divide the gross produce of the irrigated land each year among them in proportion to their shares.

On the inundation canals from the rivers, the work to be done on the main canal, whether it be the construction or annual clearance or repair, is measured up and allotted to villages in block (*dak*), proportioned to the area irrigated in each village, and the villagers each perform an allotted share of the work in a given time. The work done is considerable, and the interests involved very important. The people work in co-operation regularly, and each village performs its allotted share of the common task in good time for the annual floods. The distributing channels (*chhar*) are made by the individual villages concerned, and there is usually no objection made by one village to the excavation of a channel through the lands for the irrigation of another village farther off.

In the above undertakings we find more well-developed and finely-executed plans of co-operative irrigation than have been attempted in Italy, which serves as a model as regards this particular branch of co-operative enterprise in the West.

These indigenous forms of co-operative organisation represent the foundations on which the superstructure of a more complex economic life and organisation can be built.

Suggestions for Communal Development.—A few practical suggestions towards the further development and expansion of communalism may here be offered.

1. There are different forms of co-operative cultivation already existing. To meet the needs of a more complex rural economy, the simple and vital forms of agricultural co-operation and the communal organisation of labour in the village communities are awaiting a development along the

natural and traditional lines of communal enterprise on a co-operative basis, such as will be represented by co-operative credit societies for artisans as well as agriculturists, associations for the purchase of seeds, manures, agricultural machinery and implements of handicraft. Out of these credit societies will be developed purchase and sale organisations on indigenous lines, a central establishment and a federation of agricultural, sale and industrial societies, which would grow to larger and larger dimensions, rising layer upon layer from the lower communal stratifications to meet the expanding needs of a complex industrial and commercial life.

2. To the indigenous village store or *dharmagola*, storing for emergencies a sufficient stock of paddy for seeds as well as for food, may be added *golas* of cotton, jute, oil-seeds and other raw materials of the village which will be utilised by village artisans and industrials, as well as *golas* of goods which the village cannot produce. Further development should follow in the direction of the federation and union of such stores from village to village and from district to district, and their affiliation to a co-operative wholesale exporting and importing society as the central establishment. The ideals of the co-operative store are very easily assimilable to the economic structure of the village community, estimating the people's collective needs and undertaking collective production. Labour exchanges among artisans and cultivators, who are still, in large part, paid in food grains in our villages, may also be in keeping with the economic traditions of the village, unhampered by alien forces.

The communal organisation of credit, and the supply of implements and raw materials on a co-operative basis, will intercept the profits of the middleman and the capitalist; the communal control of grain export will prevent exploitation by grain-dealers, and regulate trade and consumption in the interests not only of traders and producers, but also of the whole community.

3. The organisation of industry and trade by means of the industrial and trade-guilds and the self-government

of industry and trade on a communal basis. The decentralisation of industry, the recognition of the guild, industrial or agrarian group as the unit of industrial rule in a federal scheme which will secure the advantages of the new technique of the electric age and the modern art of business administration.

4. The establishment and maintenance of laboratories and schools, workshops and experimental farms, libraries and hospitals by the side of the old shrines, schools, *samuhamuthams*, *uttupuras*, *chawadis*, *langars*, *dharmshalas*, village clubs, rest-houses and other public institutions, and still supported by communal wealth and labour, by individual grants or endowments, by the *brahmottar*, *dohli* or *punkhata* (*brahmodaya*, *devadaya* in South India). Their organisers and managers will still be supported; only the institutions will be different, and the functions of a novel kind.

5. In the Indian villages the collective ownership and use of the irrigation channels, tanks, wells and embankments are characteristic. The same principles of co-partnership in complex tools of production, the most remarkable characteristic of our economic life, may be extended to the specialised machinery, village workshops and power-houses. Such workshops and power-houses may be owned and operated on social principles by the whole village: every artisan will be regarded as a co-owner of the communal workshop, and the distribution of profits and the determination of wages will be regulated on a co-operative and an ethical basis. Such communal power-houses will distribute the electric current for the looms and the lathes of the village.

6. The rehabilitation of indigenous educational agencies, such as village plays (*atagalu* or *jatra*), recitations and songs (of *kathaks*, *pauranikas*, *haridasar* or *bhajanwalas*), festivals, *melas* and fairs, and their reorientation to satisfy modern spiritual and cultural needs.

The potentialities of communal experiments in social and economic life are yet unrecognised. In communal production and communal distribution, in communal trade,

finance and administration, the permanent and constituted bodies and organs of the common life that we have in all its diverse phases have to be developed and expanded into larger federal bodies and unions of various types, social, economic and administrative, to meet the needs of a larger and progressive national life and consciousness. What are mechanical customs determining the relations between the individual and the groups, and of the groups to one another, are to be raised from their quasi-instinctive level to that of a regulative ethical ideal, consciously realised by the individuals through their group-life and consciousness, which will give freshness and elasticity to the rigid structures of the group, and organise them all anew in the interests of the progressive unfolding of the corporate personality of the individual. This will renew and expand the type of a social and economic constitution which will be much more conducive to social harmony and individual creativeness than the central organs of capitalistic industry and monistic state as in the Romano-Teutonic type of social constitution, the acerbities and abuses of which are now sought to be rectified in the West by the recent experiments in intermediate organisations having a quasi-independent jurisdiction such as from time immemorial have been characteristic of communalism in the East.

C. CO-ORDINATION OF ECONOMIC AND COMMUNAL VALUES.

CHAPTER XVII.

INDUSTRY IN RELATION TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION.

Western Drift to the City.—A striking contrast between the economic life of India and the West is seen in the concentration of population. The industrial revolution during the nineteenth century, the growth of the factory system and, above all, the development of railroads and centres of commerce, have crowded people more and more into cities in the West. In 1790 there were six cities of 8,000 inhabitants in the United States; in 1910 there were 545. In 1790 3·40 per cent. of the American people lived in cities of 8,000 and more; in 1900 the proportion had grown to 33·1 per cent. The percentage of urban population in cities of 10,000 or more persons for some of the countries in the West is given below: England and Wales, 62 per cent.; Scotland, 50 per cent.; Australia, 42; Belgium, 34; Saxony, 34; Netherlands, 33; Turkey in Europe, 28; Uruguay, 30; Prussia, 30; Germany, 27; Argentina, 28; United States, 28; France, 26.

When we reflect that in England almost four-fifths of the population, and in Germany and the United States over a third of the people, now live in cities, and when we notice that the drift to the city is unabated, it is apparent that as a result of changing economic conditions the problems of the West are to be in great measure city problems.

India still Predominantly Rural.—In India more than 90 per cent. of the population live in the country. Thus the problems of national life in India are rural problems. In Bombay, which is the most urbanised province in India, only a little over 18 per cent. reside in towns of 5,000 persons and over, and

just over 13 per cent. in towns with a larger population than 10,000. At the last census the figures were 19 and nearly 14 per cent. respectively. 82 per cent. of the population reside in villages of less than 5,000 inhabitants. In the C.P. and Bihar 76 per 1,000 of the population live in towns and the remainder in villages. In the Panjab only 10·61 per cent. of the total population resides in towns, the rest living in villages. The percentage in the native states is still lower, being 8·43; while in British territory, rather more than 11 per cent. of the people live in towns. The percentage of urban population by natural divisions is given below:—

	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
1. Province	11	11	11	13
2. Indo-Gangetic plain, West .	14	15	14	16
3. Himalayan tract	3	4	4	4
4. Sub-Himalayan tract	9	9	9	10
5. N.W. dry area	7	8	9	10

The Indo-Gangetic plain, containing the cities and most of the strong towns, has the largest proportion of urban population. The proportion of the total urban population appears to be at a standstill, for the development of towns on account of industries, particularly those assisted by machinery and the growing requirements of the centres of government and education, is more or less counter-balanced by the opening of new railways which connect all important agricultural tracts with the port of Karachi, and such large centres of trade as Amritsar and Delhi, and divert the trade from less important centres to outlying places. Almost every railway station is now a centre of export. Grain, cotton and other produce are drawn to these stations from the adjoining tracts and the agents of exporting firms arrange to buy the produce as it reaches there, thus obviating the necessity of the producer to go to trading centres to dispose of his surplus produce. The proportion is 740 for the whole province, 732 for the British territory, and 757 for the native states. On the whole the urban population has shown a decrease of 1·5 per cent., but it is remarkable that

the two highest classes—towns with a population of over 50,000—have shown a fair improvement in spite of the effects of epidemics, the rise being 7 per cent. in class I, 100,000 and over, and 3·2 per cent. in class II, 50,000 to 100,000. All other classes show a falling off.

Madras—Population Drift Reversed.—In the province of Madras, between 1891 and 1901, the urban population increased by 25·1 per cent., as compared with an average increase of 5 per cent. in the rural population. The decade just concluded has witnessed a considerable change. The urban increase has fallen to 15·1, and the increase in the countryside risen to 8. The marked increase in urban population between 1891 and 1901 was explained in the latter year as due (1) to the attraction of higher wages, (2) greater freedom from caste restriction offered by town life; but if this explanation were correct, the drift towards the town might have been expected to continue. A more probable explanation is to be found in the contrast between the agricultural possibilities of the two decades. The decade 1891-1901 has been more or less favourable to agriculture. A succession of favourable seasons, by rendering the work most congenial to the Indian villager fairly abundant and certain, must have arrested to a large extent the townward drift in quest of work. Caste fetters, which may gall an infinitesimal minority whose mental conservatism has been disturbed by the influence of Western culture, sit lightly on the vast majority of the people to whom these restrictions serve as natural and convenient guides of daily life.

A striking feature of the change between the decades has been the practical cessation of increase in the city of Madras. Madras is essentially an agricultural country with only 5 per cent. of its population actually engaged in industrial work. Unlike Calcutta and Bombay, Madras City has but few large industries.

The conditions of Madras are probably less favourable than in any other part of India for the creation of an industrial system on Western lines. Not only are its natural resources limited to agricultural products, but there is no concentration either of industry or population in local

centres which would create favourable conditions for the disposal of local manufactures. The distance from the coal-fields is also a further handicap. The indigenous arts and handicrafts are being destroyed by Western competition, and their place is not being taken by factories on Western lines.

The chief feature of the last decade has been the development of industrial enterprise on a small scale, as exhibited by the establishment of small factories. There has been no large industrial development which would give occupation to a large number of people, whilst there has been by no means insignificant development in the use of machinery which has thrown out much industrial labour of a bad type: e.g., hand-spinning is practically extinct, rice-pounding is beginning to disappear, and in a number of other occupations small factories employing machinery are displacing hand-labour.

United Provinces—Distribution of Occupations.—

The United Provinces also show a predominant rural population. The contrast between the agricultural system and the system of Western industry can be judged from an analysis of occupations in an industrial town like Cawnpore, a religious centre like Benares, and country towns like Budaun and Sambhal.

URBAN AND RURAL OCCUPATIONS CONTRASTED IN THE U.P.

Occupation.	Proportion per 1,000 population in				
	Province.	Benares.	Cawn-pore.	Budaun.	Sambhal.
1. Agriculture (Sub-class I) . . .	735	61	48	200	246
2. Industry (III) . . .	121	380	270	305	355
3. Transport . . .	9	35	61	38	14
4. Trade . . .	44	180	151	150	150
5. Public force and Administration (VI & VIII)	13	33	48	65	26
6. Professions and liberal arts . . .	11	96	39	80	45
7. Domestic service . .	19	119	77	90	64
8. Unproductive . .	11	19	33	17	17

1. Benares and Cawnpore both contain cantonments: one is a religious centre as well as a manufacturing centre.

2. Budaun is a very small place, a growing country town.

3. Sambhal is little more than a country town to-day.

The differences between the towns and the province as a whole in the matter of the distribution of occupations are apparent. Benares and Cawnpore possess practically no agriculturists, Budaun and Sambhal possess between them 20 and 25 per cent. as against the province's 73 per cent. In Benares no less than 38·7 of the population depends on industry ; in Cawnpore, great industrial centre as it is, only 27·1. Even Budaun and Sambhal have a larger percentage of the population engaged in industries (30 and 35 respectively). The reason is that the industrial population of Benares depends chiefly on hand industries, whilst Cawnpore depends on mill industries ; no less than 23 per cent. of its population consists of general labourers and others who fall under sub-class XI, which reflects the presence of a large number of *coolis* or unskilled hands ready to turn to any job in the mills or out of them. A large number of cities have a larger percentage of population engaged in industries than Cawnpore. There could be no more striking proof of the way in which machinery deprives men of the labour which is available where industry is carried out by hand. Benares (96), Muttra (129), Allahabad (61), show high figures in professions and liberal arts because there are many followers of religion in the holy places.

Towns Maintained by Trade.—In India the town attracts the trade and not the trade the town. Thus the chief cause which in England produces towns is absent ; though there may be a city or two that owe their inception to industry, the majority do not. In the United Provinces most large towns were built by different rulers for political or strategical reasons or to satisfy a passing whim. Lucknow owes its birth to the dislike of Asaf-u-Daula for Fyzabad ; Agra was Akbar's capital. Other towns owe their importance to religion ; Benares, Allahabad, Ajodhya, Muttra, Bindhachal and Hardwar are all centres of pilgrimage. But, if other causes made the towns, yet trade is the cause which has maintained them. Lucknow has its own industries, both Indian and European, is a large railway centre and is also the capital of Oudh. Benares depends chiefly on its pilgrims, who

give the same sort of impetus to trade as the summer visitors do to the trade of Brighton or Scarborough. Agra was also a distributing centre, of sugar and tobacco for Central India and Rajputana, and salt, cotton, *ghee* and stone for the districts lying north of it ; it is now so more than ever. Its old native industries have decayed, but modern industries have replaced them. Cawnpore is the only first-rate place in the United Provinces the origin of which is due to trade alone.

The tendency of the urban community, especially that part of it which is connected with trade or industry, is to congregate in the larger class of cities. Labour follows capital which builds its mills and factories in large towns ; the professions follow both, since money is to be made. The concentration of industrial effort is not an advantageous phenomenon. It tends to render industrial competition unnecessarily severe, raising wages in the attempt to obtain labour. In a stay-at-home population, such as that of the United Provinces, its effect is that all available sources of labour will go a certain distance from home and no further. Were small factories and workshops built in other centres they could ease the competition of the labour market by tapping fresh sources of supply, they would possibly assist to develop tracts which are too far from the larger centres of industry to come under their influence, and they would help to restore prosperity to the old towns that are rapidly declining. Moreover it is possible that they might stay the flood of emigration out of the province. In consequence of emigration the province loses the labour required for its development, and loses it simply because industry will not bring its work sufficiently close to the labourer.¹

Evils and Perils of Urbanism.—Industry and labour are in short both immobile in the country ; both stay at home and do not meet, simply because neither will go more than a certain distance to meet the other. This has aggravated the economic and social dangers of the cityward movement in India. The depression of agriculture ha-

¹ *Vide* Census Reports of Madras and the United Provinces, 1901.

increased the pressure of competition in our industrial cities. It has depressed the standard rate of wages and has made most difficult the work of improving the housing conditions of the town-workers. The policy of drift in city expansion and development has led to grave evils, economic, social and hygienic, and there has arisen the art of town-planning which will rebuild the cities anew on a new basis by an adaptation of the moral forces to the instinctive and unchecked operation of industrial forces. Similarly the policy of drift in industrial expansion and development has led to the concentration of industry and capital. Diffusion of population and capital is essential for the all-round economic and moral development of the country; this is, however, limited by the natural and social conditions of the growth of the large industry, such as the development of means of communications, banking facilities and the supply of raw materials, it being pre-supposed that an adequate supply of labour is always available. As the art of civics develops, the geographical distribution of industries over cities and rural tracts, populated areas and surfaces of any country should be consciously regulated and organised in obedience to the ideals of well-being and culture of the particular people or nationality. This will be the scope and function of a new geography of Industrial Distribution which will correspond to the science of civics with regard to town-planning.

In India the social and moral consequences of the rural exodus are not sufficiently recognised. In the overcrowded slums we are witnessing a social and moral deterioration unknown before, while the derelict farms and broken homesteads within easy walk of the industrial cities testify to the general human and material loss accompanying a too rapidly-growing industrialism which has disintegrated the scattered home production of the country and its villages. Nature, however, never allows life to stray permanently or hopelessly from the natural order, and so we find the industrial population often scourged back to the land with pestilence. But it seems that, although India is following the track of the West in the townward movement of popu-

lation, the drift to the city is not uniform and systematic. The Panjab has shown a stationary urban population; but the rural population has increased more than proportionately. In Madras the increase of urban population has actually fallen from 25 to 15 per cent., while the increase of rural population has risen from 5 to 8 per cent. But Bombay is becoming more and more urbanised.

Urbanism a World-wide Danger.—The drift to the city is a moral as well as an economic problem. A new mentality as well as agricultural disintegration are responsible for the exodus to towns. There is desire for more intense pleasures, for greater sense stimulations which the countryside cannot satisfy. In France and America, where agriculture is carried more or less to perfection, the drift to the city is increasing. Belgium, which attacked the problem most successfully before the war, had depended more on educational reform than on agricultural improvements. There is no doubt that the tendency to emigrate from the country to the towns is universal and is due to deep-seated causes. The danger might be more accentuated in certain countries than in others, but it is being already felt in countries in the West of widely different economic conditions. The economist or the statesman does not find a means to check it, and it seems that it will follow its course everywhere and finish by making a tour round the world. It is now time to think of it seriously. The nations most interested in the solution of the crisis are probably those which at the present time are the least affected.

In France the townward movement has been in full swing. This seems surprising if one considers that there is no country where more has been done for agriculture for the last thirty years, or where agricultural economic machinery is nearer perfection. For its organisation of credit, of insurance and of co-operation in all forms, production, purchase and sale, France certainly serves as a model for other nations.

Unfortunately, there was one serious deficiency which neutralised the happy effects of all that had been done with regard to agricultural progress. The principal cause of this deficiency was for some years, especially before the war, the

depletion of agricultural labour which was accentuated under the threefold influence of industrial competition, the drift to the town, and the decreasing birth-rate. It is thus that the agricultural labour crisis has reached its climax in France and to-day forms one of the most disquieting features of her economic life.

America, the promised land of large-scale agriculture, which threatened to inundate and submerge the smaller European agriculture, has reached in its turn a critical period. In the U.S.A. production now hardly suffices for consumption, because it no more corresponds to the increase of population, which contributes to the profit of the towns at the expense of the country: the proportion of rural population, which was 63 per cent. in 1890, had already fallen to 53 per cent. in 1910.

To this cause is added another which has begun seriously to disquiet the government of the U.S.A., namely, the emigration *en masse* of the agricultural population to Canada, which offers to the emigrants concessions of land—nearly gratuitous and with extremely advantageous conditions. Attracted by this tempting offer on the one hand and discouraged on the other by the artificial increase in cost of living, the price of machinery, of coal and other raw materials caused by the monopoly of the trusts, the American agriculturists, go to seek their fortunes elsewhere, so much so that sometimes more than 20,000 American agriculturists would emigrate to Canada in a month. And, since the arrival of a single emigrant in Canada represents at least an investment of about 1,000 dollars in money or materials, it is estimated that more than 20,000,000 dollars of American wealth in this way drift to Canada. It is thus seen that the exodus from the country is as menacing in the United States as in Old Europe.¹

Sound Education the Remedy.—In suggesting remedies for this serious phenomenon more importance should be attached to the moral side of the question than to the purely economic aspect. Undoubtedly all measures, all

¹ *Vide J. Meline*—"La Désertion de Campagne," in *Revue Economique Internationale*, October, 1912.

reforms of a positive character to facilitate agricultural production, to increase profits of agriculture, to ameliorate the condition of the peasants and field labourers, will mitigate the evil and retard the exodus; but to retain the ungrateful on the land, much more depends on a better system of primary education. Before all things it is essential to find means to change their mentality and to eradicate from their hearts the taste for the unhealthy pleasures of the town and to implant instead the taste for life in nature and love for the soil.

A well-conceived practical system of agricultural education, in evening courses and veterinary schools, in agricultural exhibitions and winter and summer experiments, will prevent the commercialising of agriculture and the enforced exodus into the towns due to economic unsettlement and poverty. But education in India is producing the belief that the peasants' love for the land is a feline attachment to the soil. Economics is still teaching that the village community which protects agriculture and the agriculturist as a shield of armour from the poisoned weapons of capitalism and commercialism is a spent social force which would arrest progress and must die a natural death; and law is hastening that consummation by enunciating that land, like ordinary goods, should be bought and sold in the open market, and should not be kept in the hand of persons advancing fictitious rights on what it considers as belonging to the highest bidder. Meanwhile, there is going on in India an excessive sub-division and fragmentation of holdings which are becoming so small that the holder has not much for his family after paying the revenue out of the produce. What with the mistaken individualistic interpretation of customary laws relating to land and inheritance, what with the infinite multiplication of revenue-farmers and middlemen, what with the introduction of exploitative commercial and trade interests in the organisation of rural credit, land-holdings are becoming smaller and smaller. It is the unsound education economics and law of a crude industrial age that is preventing the development of sound social economy even as bad money drives out good money

from the market. But it is not before moral and intellectual bankruptcy shows the inadequacy of the present social science and system that the new sociology will hold the field and usher in healthy and normal conditions in India.

Brightness of Village Life in India.—Farm life in the country is educative, morally and intellectually. That is an essentially artificial and faulty system of education which separates the people from nature and the soil. And if the love for the soil tends to disappear, a nation ought to cultivate it assiduously. The "feline attachment to the soil" is a useful racial trait. But it is not the attachment to the soil alone that has fixed the Indian to the village system. The variety of amusements and social activities in the village form an attraction. The complaint against English or American farm life is that it is one of dreary monotony. In the Indian village there are recitations, plays, evening discourses and songs every now and then. There is a round of ten festivals in twelve months. There is for instance among the Panjab country folk the Diwali, the feast of lamps, when numbers of little lamps are lit and a general illumination made. This is the little Diwali when it is believed that the ancestors visit the house. The day after comes off the great or Gobardhan Diwali, in which Krishna is worshipped in his capacity of cow-herd. The whole house is plastered afresh. In the morning the housewife takes all the sweepings and old clothes in the dust-pan, and turns them on to the dunghill, saying "*daladr dur ho*" (*daladr* means lazy and hence poor). Meanwhile the women have made a *gobardhan* of cowdung, which consists of Krishna lying on the back surrounded by little cottage loaves of dung to represent mountains bristling with grass stems, with tufts of cotton or rag on the tops of trees; and little dung balls for cattle watched by dung men dressed in bits of rag. The cow-herds come in and salute the whole. Then they all feed themselves with parched rice and sweets. There is the Holi, when the youths of the village swing on trees, dance and sing and play, and the women rejoice. There is also the Lorhi, when the

villagers bathe and distribute food in charity, and the little girls go round and round and beg some *gur* from every man in whose house a son has been born or a daughter married within the year. The *mirasis* and *bhats* recite the praises of ancestors; professional story-tellers repeat long-winded tales for the benefit of the village folk; many of the older peasants have learnt by heart old ballads, verses, songs or stories, snatched out of the *Granth Sahib* or some other religious or moral composition, and repeat them for the edification of their fellows. Birth, betrothal and marriage ceremonies are constantly occurring, often exceedingly elaborate and accompanied by special festivities. The regular fairs also give diversion. Pilgrimages, too, are undertaken on occasions by persons anxious to gain the favour of a local god or saint. Nor are the villages without their games. They have the *kabadi* and the *souchi*. Wrestling also is not uncommon. Occasionally a body of *nats* and *bazigars* (strolling acrobats) visit the village and amuse the people.

Village Reconstruction Problem.—The fairs and festivals, fasts and festivities, recitations and discourses, add zest and variety to the life of the villager. It is the monotony of work and life on the farm that is mainly responsible for the exodus from the village. In the West, men prefer intense enjoyment and strong sense-stimulations which rural life cannot easily satisfy. India has had her discipline in moderate pleasures. But the Indian towns, with their grog-shops and brothels, are now creating and pandering to an appetite for coarser enjoyment. The distaste for milder sense-stimulations and more even tenor of life in the village is growing, and this is encouraged by the attraction which the city offers as giving employment to people in villages. In the villages, again, malaria is steadily decimating the population, and there is the want of good drinking-water, and proper drainage and even ordinary medical facilities. In India, therefore, the problem of the restoration of the village is connected with economic and sanitary improvements as well as with educational reconstruction. The mentality of our nation

is slowly being modified, and the drift to the city, encouraged by economic causes, will assume before long such proportions in some parts of the country at least that a serious social maladjustment will be inevitable.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INDIAN SLUM ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC HEALTH.

Effect of Town-drift in India.—Throughout India the drift to the city is a marked feature in our economic and social life, though its extent and significance differ, as we have seen, in the different provinces. This is slowly bringing about a change in the mentality of the population in our villages. Certain attitudes of mind have been developed in our villages unknown before, while in the cities the type of mentality now being developed is new, and this is tending to replace the old habits and traditions associated with our ancient civic life and institutions. In too many cases the process has been that of the substitution of cultures, not to speak of the social dislocation and unsettlement, with its attendant evils of unrest, poverty and stress, associated with all transitional stages.

In schemes of economic reconstruction we ought not to satisfy ourselves merely with the task of rehabilitating the disintegrated agriculture of our villages. We have to cleanse and beautify our sordid cities; rebuild them and their institutions so that they may contribute to the healthy and noble living of the population instead of regarding them as "inevitable" products of "industrialism" and human nature.

Factory Life in India.—At present the conditions of life of our factory labourers are far from healthy and natural. The Indian mill-hand is primarily a cultivator who returns to his home in his native village as soon as he has been able

to lay by sufficient money after providing for his own expenses and his regular remittances to his family, who seldom accompany him to his *chawl* or *busti* near the factory. The *ghatis* who swarm into the Bombay cotton-mills are usually cultivators of holdings too small to afford them a subsistence; and as a rule they are heavily indebted to village money-lenders, with whom their connection persists even in their city environment. Only a small proportion of the workers in the coal-fields of Bengal resides permanently at the mines. The rest are usually small cultivators or agricultural labourers who return to their villages for the cultivation and harvesting of their crops. The labourer in a jute-mill in Bengal, who usually comes from Saran, Champaran, Balia or other district in the United Provinces or Bihar, goes back in the hot weather or harvest season. Local labourers are few, comprising less than one-third of the hands. In the city of Howrah, which has a population of 179,000, and which doubled itself during the last forty years, more than two-thirds of the inhabitants were born outside the district. The Bengali-speaking population comprised only 40 per cent. of the population, while the Hindi and Oriya-speaking people constituted 47 per cent. and 3 per cent. respectively. When the labourers come from distant countries, they leave their families behind. Thus in Howrah there are only 562 females to 1,000 males. Between 1871-1911 the increase of females was 75 per cent., while that of males was as great as 150 per cent.

Some of the mill towns have shown a phenomenal increase of population. Thus, in Bengal in the last decade Bhadreswar has increased twice, Tittagarh thrice, and Kharagpur five times in population. The dangers of overcrowding and insanitation have been very serious, and the more so because the increase of population has been so sudden. *Pucha* or *kucha cooli* lines have been built by the managers of the mills, but they do not save the situation. When the hours of labour are 5 a.m. to 8 p.m., with changes at 7.30 a.m., 10 a.m., 12.30 p.m., 3 and 8 p.m., each shift working ten hours a day, the labourers have to live close to a mill, and overcrowding cannot be prevented. There is also an enormous

amount of contract labour, about the housing of which the employer does not trouble himself at all. A *coolī* contractor is paid so much a bale for bringing raw jute from a jetty to the mill, or manufactured jute from the mill to the jetty or the railway-station. All these make it absolutely essential for labour to live close to the factory; and, if there is no congestion in the mill-lines, there is congestion in the private *bustis*. It is these latter especially which are centres of poverty, prostitution and disease. A *sardar* is allotted some land from the mill rent-free to build huts on; he brings workers to live in the huts and collects their rents, sometimes charged at an exorbitant rate. The huts are very dark and gloomy, without ventilation or light. Filth lies about uncollected or is dumped in the yards. The rents are sometimes as high as Re.1-8 or Rs.2 per week for a dark room and another small half-room, and there is one privy for sixty persons, with a rent of $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per week per head. In Ward 5, Howrah, the number of persons per acre is ninety. Sankaribazar, Dacca, which strikes us as one of the most congested quarters in a city in Bengal, has a density of 61·6, which compares favourably with Howrah.

Indian Slum Problem.—In Bombay town 76 per cent. of the population lives in one-room tenements. (5) There are over 166,000 of these tenements, and the average number of persons per room is 4·47. The labouring classes, almost without exception, live in tenements of a single room in large *chawls*, which sometimes provide a common washing-place on each floor, and sometimes a *nahani* or *mori* in each room. Persons living in five- or six-room tenements average 1·43 and 1·45 persons per room. The following table shows the number of tenements per inhabited house in some of the mill areas in Bombay :—

	Total number of occupied tenements of each class.	Percentage of each class of tenements to total tenements.	Total number of occupants.	Percentage borne by population in each class of tenements to total population.	Average number of occupants per room.
<i>Byculla.</i>					
1 Room .	15,998	98·25	70,970	94·24	4·44
2 Rooms .	347	2·09	11,760	2·34	2·54
3 Rooms .	118	·71	658	·87	1·86
4 Rooms .	79	·48	872	1·16	2·44
5 Rooms .	25	·15	232	·31	1·86
6 Rooms and over	55	·33	815	1·08	2·47
<i>Tadwadi.</i>					
1 Room .	4,807	94·81	26,186	92·16	5·45
2 Rooms .	129	2·54	673	2·37	2·61
3 Rooms .	39	·77	275	·97	2·35
4 Rooms .	35	·69	198	·70	1·41
5 Rooms .	15	·30	129	·42	1·72
6 Rooms and over	45	·89	952	3·35	3·53
<i>In Mandvi, Circle No. 6.</i>					
1 Room .	327	77·67	4,927	93·14	15·07
2 Rooms .	61	14·49	198	3·47	1·62
3 Rooms .	19	4·51	97	1·64	1·70
4 Rooms .	7	1·66	25	·47	·89
5 Rooms .	2	·47	13	·22	1·30
6 Rooms and over	5	1·19	30	·57	1·00

The greatest density is 638 per acre in second Nagpada, while in one-fifteenth of the total area of the island are huddled together nearly two-fifths of the population at 391 per acre.

Life is squalid, dirty, unclean and unnatural when, for example, as many as fifteen persons live in each room of the one-room tenements. No less than 76 per cent. of the population, i.e., no fewer than 743,250 souls, reside in single-room tenements. Real homes in the shape of whole houses are very rare; even homes in flats are comparatively uncommon; for the great bulk of the people "home" means a single room. Hence the importance of recognising the room rather than the house as the unit when applying municipal by-laws which prescribe the amount of open space to be provided outside dwelling-places.¹

¹ J. P. Orr—*Social Reform and Slum Reform*, Part II, p. 17.

As regards drainage and ventilation, the following remarks are quoted from the secretary to the Bombay Development Committee of 1914 : " It is not uncommon to find a continuous area of buildings each occupying practically the whole site on which it stands. Each building may be surrounded almost entirely by a dark, narrow gully which, in the absence of any possibility of installing a proper drainage system, is an open drain containing the waste water used for domestic purposes, and defiled also with urine, with excreta overflowing from the privy baskets, and with all kinds of refuse thrown out of windows. Except for some small dirty *chawks*, these gullies may constitute the only access of light and air to the rooms in the buildings. Most of the rooms have obviously no proper supply of light and air, and many of them are dark hovels which no breath of fresh air ever reaches. Often such small windows as look out on the narrow passage cannot be opened at all because of the foulness of the gullies, and because of the fear that rubbish and filth thrown out of the windows will enter the rooms. But lack of light and air is by no means the only fault of such dwellings. There is also the very imperfect drainage which results from the crowded nature of the sites, and the dampness of soil due to this insufficient drainage, and other causes. Dwelling-rooms are too small and too low. Yards and compounds are not decently paved. Proper arrangements for disposal of refuse are absent."

Inadequate municipal regulations with regard to dwellings, indifference to town-planning, a *laissez faire* policy pursued with regard to the location of factories and workingmen's quarters, as well as house-tax laws, have all contributed to this overcrowding, involving disease and discomfort, nervous tension, vice, callousness and many more evils. (6)

There is an enormous amount of overcrowding in the poorer quarters of Calcutta. Over the whole municipal area there is an average population of 2.5 persons per room, and this congestion exists more or less over the whole of the city, the least congested ward being Park Street, with 1.3 persons per room, and the most congested being Jorabagan, with 4.4 persons per room. The facts as to the absence of

family life in Calcutta will be examined presently, and the investigation of the conditions prevailing makes it clear that the majority of the working-classes are housed in overcrowded barracks or equally overcrowded *bustis*.¹

The city of New York presents us with one of the world's records in overcrowded conditions. But in Bombay the overcrowding far exceeds the New York record. We have not any data relating to the number of families in Calcutta occupying rooms in the *busti*, and the sizes of those rooms, but we have sufficiently clear impressions also to conclude that the congestion and overcrowding are not less. In New York more than one and a half persons to a room is held to be overcrowding, and about 45 per cent. of families live in an overcrowded condition. In Byculla and Tadvadi the average number of occupants to a single room is 4.44 and 5.45 respectively, and in none of the tenements is there a less average than 1.5 persons living in one room. In Mandvi, as we have already seen, there are, on an average, 15.07 persons living in a single room. The unmitigated and incalculable evils of this fearful congestion are apparent.

A Specimen Slum.—In a Chamar *busti* in Mechuabazar, Calcutta, which I visited, I witnessed overcrowding which is perhaps among the worst on record. The *busti* is divided into several unequal and unsymmetrical blocks. The ground-space of each block is rented from the *zamindar* by a sub-lord, who erects the dingy close-built *busti*-huts, collects the rents from each of the huts of the block and, after handing over to the *zamindar* the rent of the ground space, appropriates the surplus. Thus, in one of these blocks, which measures 15 feet in length and 18 feet in breadth, there is an overcrowding of—7 adults, 6 women, 3 boys, 6 girls.

The rooms are constructed so as to utilise the ground space to the maximum and yield the highest amount as rents, without any reference to the drainage or ventilation. Each of the rooms earns a rent of Re.1 to Rs.2-8. In the

¹ Vide Madan and Shroobree's *Report on City and Suburban Main Road Projects*, Calcutta, 1913.

block in question there are six rooms. The rooms vary a little in size. The mean size is 9 feet long, 6 feet broad and 5 feet high. In each room there is a cot and a rack, and I find one or two ovens in addition. The room is very dark, and even in the daytime the things cannot be seen without a lamp. In the particular block there is an open space of 3 square feet in the centre, where utensils are scoured. On one side I find also a cot. There is also a *tulasi* plant in a tub, a marigold also in a tub, but placed on a bamboo roof. Some of the blocks have no privy attached to them, a few blocks sharing a privy in common. The overcrowding here is even greater than that in the *bustis* of the mill-centres. But a striking difference is noticeable. (7)

Punchayet in the Slum.—The Chamars form a homogeneous community, and are not uprooted as are the mill-hands from the old communal conventions and regulations. The mill-hands, on the contrary, live more or less an unattached life, uncared for by any educational agencies and unregulated by any social code. There is the communal temple, there is also the *punchayet*, which acts as the disciplinary agency. The communal temple is maintained by one-eighth of the fees levied when fines are imposed. In one month the *punchayet* meets to settle a marriage in consultation with the parents of the couple, to warn a dilettante of loose morals and to arrange for the repayment of an advance to an artisan by a usurious money-lender. There are occasions on which the priest or the story-teller comes, recites and explains the hymns of the *Ramayana* and the *Bhagavata*, and enlivens the recitation with his songs. He is paid in kind in food, clothes, as well as in money, by the rich members of the community, while the rich and poor alike who assemble in the communal temple to listen to him may pay their mite to the tray that is before them to encourage the priest to prolong his discourse or to show their appreciation. Even in the midst of the poverty and the squalor, the dirt and the congestion, we find in this compact community a type of noble morals and chastity, and of an idealistic attitude towards life so characteristic of the Indian folk-mind in our fields and cottages which express

themselves in pious songs and hymns in many a moonlit night of well-earned rest and recreation.

The Toll of Disease.—But under these overcrowded conditions the spread of diseases is easy and an outbreak of plague, cholera or smallpox will drive away all those who can escape. The recent influenza epidemic has affected the poorer classes in the *chawls* and *bustis* much more than the upper classes. How can it be otherwise? In Bombay some of the *chawls* are unspeakably filthy. In one in which no less than 2,000 souls live, the *bhangi* (scavenger) has not been for a little less than a fortnight, and all the filth has accumulated. And why has not the scavenger been? Because the landlord refuses to pay him more. The landlord has nothing to suffer. His rents, heavy though they are in Bombay, come in all the same. The rooms cannot be described. Some of the dirtiest stables for horses in Bombay are better.

As in Bombay, so in Ahmedabad and Poona, Howrah and Calcutta, the epidemic claims the heaviest toll from among the ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-cared-for mill-hands. The gloom that has originated in Bombay has spread far and wide. The fever is raging intensely, and the death-roll is ghastly in the area occupied by the mills and labourers, and which even in normal times affords dread warning, enveloped as it is in thick smoke and overladen with soot and dust which, breathed by the mill-hands and other toilers who are crowded together in tens of thousands, act as slow poison. In some two months the epidemic has carried off from the city *chawl* or the jungle-ridden village 6,000,000 lives.

Encouragement of Vice.—Grog shops are many, and they are situated quite near the *coolie* lines to encourage drink, while brothels also spring up, sometimes under the supervision of the employers, and satisfy the coarse appetites of operatives whose nerves are shattered by long hours of work and by dehumanised and desocialised life under devitalised conditions, and who therefore have frequent recourse to drink and debauchery for relaxation. Apart from these, we have already pointed out the general char-

acter of the mill-population. In India there has not been created as yet a class of factory labourers who train themselves in mill-work and who depend upon it for livelihood. It is true that some labourers remain long enough in the lines and *chawls*, and bring their family to live with them, but the vast mass of the factory population is shifting, inconstant and irregular in its employment, and characterised by a striking disparity between the proportions of the sexes.

In the mill areas in Bombay the disparity in the sex proportions is shown below :—

NUMBER OF FEMALES TO 1,000 MALES.							
Byculla	.	.	.	.	.	.	580.55
Tadwadi	.	.	.	.	.	.	566.84
Mandvi	.	.	.	.	.	.	423.94

In Howrah we have already seen that there are only 562 females to 1,000 males. Thus intemperance and prostitution became easy and natural.

The social conditions in our mill-towns represent only a more squalid and degraded phase of life than what is found in our important cities. We have already described the unnatural life of our labourers in the Bombay *chawls* and the Howrah *bustis*.

Housing Problem, East and West.—In Calcutta and Bombay the problem of housing accommodation has become extremely serious. The increase of rents has been phenomenal, and this has tended to break up the joint family. Where families still live under the same roof, they often divide the house into separate portions. In Northern Calcutta, the quarter of the residence of the Bengali population, the system of actually dividing dwelling-houses amongst several co-heirs is a very potent factor in the production of insanitary property. Thus a large dwelling is divided into a number of mean little tenements with totally inadequate open spaces and most of the rooms imperfectly lighted and ventilated. Ordinarily, however, much of Northern Calcutta contains only from 9 per cent. to 12 per cent. of total open space, which is an appalling figure, and the buildings are generally twice the height of London,

Birmingham and Liverpool slums. This fact of the much greater height of Calcutta slums intensifies the insanitary conditions. British city and especially London slums, of which we hear so much, and which are steadily being cleared at great expense, are commonly but two stories in height, and all are provided with an incomparably better street system than we find anywhere throughout Calcutta, excepting only in the small Park Street area. Nor is any European slum allowed to be overcrowded to an extent even approaching the condition now existing in Calcutta. Calcutta, inside the area enclosed by Circular Road and the River Hooghly, contains no less than twenty-two blocks of residential property, without any street system, and served internally only by tortuous lanes, passages and fragmentary lengths of narrow street. The average size of each block is 100 acres. The total area is about 2,200 acres, and can perhaps best be comprehended in the form of twenty-two squares of closely-built-up streetless property, each square measuring about $2,100 \times 2,100$ feet, or 700×700 yards, and they cover over 3 square miles. If we include areas outside Circular Road, then we get a total of 2,500 acres of streetless property.

Conditions like these can be found elsewhere only in Bombay, and in Cairo and Constantinople (both dry cities), and Pekin, Canton, Mukden and other Chinese cities. On a very much smaller scale they occur in Delhi and other Indian cities.

Some of the greatest Western slums appear to have been in Glasgow, many years ago. Their total area of about 90 acres is still spoken of with awe in British municipal circles; in Calcutta a single one of our twenty-two blocks much exceeds the Glasgow record, both in area and intensity. (Report of the Calcutta Improvement Trust.)

Mortality Statistics, Male and Female.—There has been great exultation recently because in Calcutta the death-rates are going down and down, but it must be remembered that these are crude and disconnected, and, as Dr. Crake points out in his Report, “cannot be compared with those

of other towns." Still-births are not calculated in Calcutta, as in Bombay and the West, and there is a large number of deaths of persons who leave Calcutta to die in villages that is also not reckoned. Thus the Calcutta death-rate cannot be lower than that of Bombay if calculated in the ordinary way.

In all countries the male death-rate exceeds the female death-rate. In Switzerland, Germany and Great Britain the female death-rate is only about 88 per cent. that of the male. This is due to the fact that the females are less exposed to the trials and dangers of life. In the province of Bengal as well the female death-rate is 31 per 1,000 against 34 amongst males. But in Calcutta the ratios are inverted. The following table shows the death-rate by sex and age in Calcutta and the province :

Age Period. Years.	Calcutta Rate per 1,000 (1918).		Provincial Rates (1909).	
	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.
1 to 5	62.3	61.2	37	42
5 to 10	22.2	12.5	14	17
10 to 15	15.9	11.7	10	11
15 to 20	26.7	15.7	20	17
20 to 30	27.5	16.9	21	19
30 to 40	29.6	22.9	22	22
40 to 50	27.5	29.9	24	27
50 to 60	39.5	42.9	35	41
60 and over	135.0	114.8	58	77

At 15-20 years the female death-rate in Calcutta is more than double the male death-rate, while in Bengal Presidency the difference is not so sharp (20 and 17).

From the age of 10 in all age-periods the death-rate amongst females in the city is much higher than amongst males ; while in the presidency the male death-rate is generally higher, as in other countries of the world. When we remember this and compare the Calcutta rates with those recorded in England, where at all ages from 5-56 years the death-rate amongst females is distinctly lower than amongst

males, one realises the truth of Professor Patrick Geddes's indictment of Calcutta as a matricidal city.¹

The causes of this inversion of the normal ratios of mortality amongst males and females are obvious. In the city, the effect of the insanitary housing arrangement must tell more upon the health of the females than upon the males, and especially so because the *purdah* system is much more rigid and exacting than in the villages, and not only involves the constant exposure of women to insanitary conditions, but actually leads to the construction of ill-lighted and ill-ventilated buildings in order to secure privacy to the *zenana*. Apart from the dangers due to the strain of repeated child-bearing and prolonged lactation in tender age and of ignorant midwifery, the ill-ventilated and insanitary houses with the courtyards in the middle, latrines and drains in the vicinity of the water-tank and kitchen for exclusive use of women, and the social conventions prohibiting exercises in the pure air outside the precincts of the congested slums and dwellings, bear responsibility for the greater mortality amongst females. As a result of a complex variety of causes more economic than social, such as premature motherhood, ignorant midwifery, poverty, insanitary dwellings, want of pure air and healthy exercises, maternal deaths in Calcutta amount to 1 in every 40 as compared with the average rate of from 1 to 2 per 1,000 in England.

Tuberculosis.—The effect of constant exposure to insanitary surroundings, or, in other words, the result of adhering to the *purdah* system in the slums of a large city, is also shown by the heavy incidence of tuberculosis among girls and young women. Bombay is not so much responsible on this account as Calcutta.²

TUBERCULOSIS DEATH-RATE.

	Calcutta.	Bombay.
Females only	3·3, 2·9	1·02, 2·20
Males only	1·7, 1·6	·41, 3·24
Average only	2·3, 2·0	·62, 2·56
Respiratory diseases excluding Phthisis —	8·0	23·97

¹ *Report of the Municipal Administration of Calcutta, 1915-16, Vol. I, page 54 et seq.*

² Figures for 1917-18 and 1918-19 are given.

In Calcutta at 10-15 years of age the incidence is six times as great ; at 15-20 years, it is four times as great ; and at 20-30 years, three times as great as amongst males.

Blindness.—Another effect of the insanitary, ill-lighted dwelling has been that the incidence of blindness among males is lower, but among females is far higher, than in the province of which Calcutta is the capital ; and that the loss of sight is less frequent among men than among women, whereas the reverse is the case in Bengal. The figures are given below :—

NUMBER OF BLIND PER 1,000.							
						Male.	Female.
Calcutta	.	.	.	.	.	63	92
Bengal	.	.	.	.	.	78	63

PROPORTION OF BLIND FEMALES TO 100 MALES.							
						Male.	Female.
England	.	.	.	.	.	100	107.3
United States	.	.	.	.	.	100	80.1
Calcutta	.	.	.	.	.	100	146.03
Bengal	.	.	.	.	.	100	80.76

One explanation is that males suffering from cataract have recourse to the surgeon more freely than women. But the effects of the conditions of ill-lighted dwellings must also be emphasised. The occupation of women lies mainly indoors, and the main proportion have to spend the greater part of day and night in small dark rooms, filled with the acrid smoke of cow-dung fires, at which they cook their food. The cumulative effect of life under such conditions is apparent from the returns of blindness by age, for two-thirds of the blind women are over 50 years of age. The homesteads in the village are ventilated, since the bamboo walls and roofs allow of a more thorough percolation of air ; the Bengali woman in the village consequently suffers less than her sister who lives in the slums and the insanitary dwellings of the metropolis.

Insanitary Zenanas.—The *purdah* woman is particularly liable to suffer from the effects of confinement to the house, especially in congested areas. Dr. H. M. Crake thus wrote on the sanitary condition of Northern Calcutta : " No survey of an oriental city can possibly ignore the potent influence of the *purdah* system on its domestic architecture.

Obviously the house is directly inspired by the necessity of securing absolute privacy for the ladies of the household. To effectually seclude the inner apartments from the vulgar gaze, air and light are shut out, and the rooms rendered unfit for human habitation. It is very common to find the whole of the lower story of the *zenana*, even in large and valuable houses, given up to *godowns* and kitchens, the inmates frankly admitting that not one of the rooms is fit to live in. I must confess I am astonished at the average kitchen. It is, in a large number of houses, a gloomy, stuffy den, full of acrid smoke, and yet the ladies of the house have to spend hours in these very unpleasant surroundings. The entire absence of chimneys results in an atmosphere which is almost unbearable when cooking is going on in a particularly ill-ventilated kitchen. In Barabazar area in Calcutta the courtyard and surrounding area are used for *godown* purposes, while the office is on ground floor (or upstairs sometimes); thus the dwelling space above is restricted and overcrowded, and unhealthy accordingly. The rough adaptation of domestic buildings to storage use compels the congestion of the dwellings, while the dust that accumulates in the courtyard is constantly being raised, and thus passes into the upper stories, to which their notorious unhealthiness is largely due. Tuberculosis is especially rampant in this area. In this area, again, there are a good many four-story tenements, and some of five and even six. While Edinburgh has lowered the municipal building limit to three stories, above which height no tenement houses or flats are now constructed, we have no such prohibition at all. How many stairs would delicate mothers climb without getting strained? Thus women, both middle-aged and old, as well as young children, stay at home to avoid stairs, and so get out of health for want of exercise and in other ways."

Infant Mortality.—But Calcutta is not alone among the matricidal cities. In Bangalore the maternal deaths in every 1,000 are thrice greater than those of Calcutta—78 per 1,000. Maternal mortality is also very high in Madras, but figures are not available. The effects of slumdom with

regard to infant mortality are no less harmful. The infant mortality rate for the whole of Calcutta in 1918-1919 was 280. The rates for other cities are given below :—

DEATH-RATE PER 1,000.

	1914 and before.	1916.	1917.	1919.
India	209·4	—	206	—
Central Provinces and Berar	265·3	—	227	—
Bengal	200	—	189	—
Madras Province	182·8	—	194	—
France	166	—	—	—
Great Britain	145	—	—	89
Denmark	138	—	—	—
Sweden	130	—	—	—
Norway	104	—	—	—
Ireland	97	—	—	—
Calcutta	282	249·1	249·0	—
Bombay	325	388	409·6	—
Madras City	308	265	277·3	—
Bangalore	196·8	—	—	—
London	100	89	—	85
Birmingham	122	104	—	—
Manchester	129	111	—	—
Liverpool	140	117	—	—
Port Sunlight	78	—	—	—

Some slum quarters have always been noted for a high rate of infant mortality. Jorabagan is one of them. This extremely congested quarter, with its great masses of buildings intersected by narrow gullies and its hundreds of tenement-houses packed with humanity, is obviously inimical to child life. The suburban wards of Calcutta, though far less congested, contain thousands of damp, dark, dirty huts, surrounded by grossly insanitary conditions.¹

Dr. Sir Kailas Chandra Bose has given the following death-rates in Wards V and VI which indicate the highest recorded infant mortalities in the world :

WARD No. V (JORASANKO AND BURRABAZAR).

	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Births	725	725	810	663	756
Deaths	432	450	462	448	436
Balance living	293	275	348	215	320
Death-rate per 1,000	595	580	580	675	577

¹ *Report of the Municipal Administration of Calcutta, 1915-16, 1916-17.*

WARD NO. VII (ARMENIAN STREET AND RADHABAZAR DT.).

	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Births	318	385	810 (abnormal)	307	345
Deaths	197	169	215	155	166
Balance living . .	121	216	595	152	179
Death-rate per 1,000	621	439	265	505	481

Bombay Houses.—In Bombay clerks on moderate salaries affect tenements of two rooms in *chawls*; and there is a tendency for the old style of Hindu dwelling-house, with its *otla* and *mazaghar* (middle-hall), to disappear under pressure of space and high rents. The richer middle-classes are found residing in what are called flats, the most prominent feature of which is the *diwankhana* or reception-room. Around this are grouped the kitchen, washing-room, sleeping-rooms and women's apartments, which vary in size and number in proportion to the wealth of the owner. The messes and the flats, the *bustis* and *chawls* of the middle and labouring classes of Calcutta and Bombay, vary in the degree of uncleanness and insanitation, but it will be a disagreeable surprise to know that low-paid clerks, staying far away from their families, live under conditions which are far from good, healthy and even moral. More than two-thirds of the population of Bombay and of Calcutta live under desperately hazardous housing conditions.

Bombay—Infant Mortality.—In Bombay the death-rate for infants for the city as a whole in 1918 was 590·3. For some of the slum areas the rates are: Dhobi Talao, 481; Kamathipura, 703; Nagpada, 714; Mandvi, 1024.

The following table classifies births by the number of tenements occupied by the parents as also the number of deaths that occurred among these infants:

BIRTHS AND INFANT MORTALITY BY THE NUMBER OF ROOMS
OCCUPIED IN 1918.

	1 room and under.	2 rooms.	3 rooms.	4 or more rooms.	Road- side.	Hos- pitals.	Total No. in 1916.
Births . . .	14,442	2,117	515	578	30	4,051	21,773
Infant mor- tality . . .	11,081	1,056	193	138	40	321	12,829
Infant mor- tality per 100 births registered in the tenements	76·72	49·88	37·47	23·87	133·33	7·92	59·03

It will be observed from the foregoing statement that of the 21,733 live births registered during the year, 14,442, or 66·45 per cent., occurred in tenements of one room or less, and the number of deaths among such was 11,081, or 76·72 per cent. of the births; *this proportion varies inversely as the number of rooms occupied*; 49·88 per cent. in the case of two-room tenements and 37·47 per cent. in the case of three-room tenements.

The lowest percentage of infant mortality (7·9) occurred among children born in hospitals. The municipal nurses and the health visitors of the Sanitary Association and the Lady Wellington Scheme—who are all qualified midwives—daily visit the localities and *chawls* inhabited by the poor, and help to diffuse and popularise elementary knowledge of the principles of health and hygiene, and carry such knowledge and habit into the homes and lives of the ignorant, give advice on the prevention of disease, and the care and upbringing of infants, and bring to the notice of the authorities unregistered births, unvaccinated children and cases of sickness; they also find out prospective mothers among the poor, and induce them to go to the maternity homes provided for them free; and, where such refuge is not sought, attend on the women in their homes, providing them with necessities in the shape of milk, blankets, *charpoy*, etc. There are also some maternity homes for the poor:

one municipal at Bellasis Road, and two under the Lady Wellington Scheme, of which one is at Parel (opened on March 24, 1916) and the other at Victoria Bundar, Colaba (opened on September 1, 1916).

A high percentage of deaths in infants under 1 month may indicate low vitality of the infant or unsatisfactory conditions attending child-birth. A high rate for infants of over 6 months may indicate faulty surroundings, bad feeding and dirty water ; all of which influence adversely health at every age period. The following table gives the percentage of the deaths (1916) occurring at different periods during the first year of life for Bombay city and for the four districts in the Southern Registration District :—

District.	Under 1 month.	Between 1 and 6 months.	Between 6 and 12 months.
Belgaum	45·10	29·19	25·71
Dharwar	45·41	31·03	23·56
Kanara	44·76	29·29	25·95
Bombay city . . .	34·46	31·37	34·19

Tuberculosis in Industrial Life.—But it is only the waste of India so far as maternal and infantile mortality is concerned which has been accounted for. We have not reckoned the deaths from plague and influenza, cholera and smallpox, and also from the main diseases of ordinary life. We only now refer to tuberculosis as a main scourge of industrial populations. It is true that we have very few statistical records to guide us. There is evidence, however, that the disease is more prevalent in the large industrial centres than elsewhere ; that the disease is definitely on the increase in rural areas abutting on centres from which labour is drawn and to which the victims of the disease go to die ; that in few factories are sufficient precautions taken to reduce the risk of such places affording facilities for the transmission of tuberculous infection from the sick to the healthy. The city factory and the crowded workshop are not the natural habitat of human beings, and every precau-

tion must be taken to prevent the unnatural environment acting deleteriously on the employees.

DEATH-RATES PER 1,000.

	From Respiratory Diseases.	From all Causes.
Bangalore	7.28	39.95
Kolar Gold Fields	6.23	56.70
Calcutta	2.3 (tuberculosis)	35.0
Bombay	10.94	35.0
Birmingham	1.28	14.1
London	1.44 (tuberculosis)	15.0
London slum area	6.10	16.2
Manchester	1.53	
Madras	2.1 (tuberculosis)	39.5

That tuberculosis is conspicuously the curse of the cotton industry is shown by the high rates of Bombay and Madras. We give below the tubercle death-rates of the different wards of Madras :—

1. Rayapuram	2.3
2. Tondiarpet	1.0
3. Korukkapet	2.0
4. Harbour	2.7
5. Esplanade	2.4
6. Trevelyan	1.9
7. Park town	4.3
8. Perambur	1.7
9. Purasavakam	1.8
10. Vepery	3.5
11. Egmore	1.3
12. Kilpauk	2.8
13. Nangambankam	1.5
14. Chintadripetta	1.3
15. Chepak	2.3
16. Triplicane	2.3
17. Rayapet	1.6
18. Mylapore	1.4

2.1

Average for five years, 1.4.

Madras.—Social Conditions and Infant Mortality.—

The general death-rate of Madras is greater than that of Calcutta and Bombay; the infant mortality of Madras is less than that of Bombay, but greater than that of Calcutta, and is nearly thrice that of London.

The difference between social life in Madras from that in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta is reflected characteristically in the mortality incidence. In Bombay, which is an industrial and manufacturing city, the demand for male labour is predominant, and there is a striking disparity between the proportions of the sexes, chiefly among the immigrant population. In Calcutta, which also is a commercial and manufacturing centre, and where the seclusion of women is an important fact in the organisation of labour, the disparity between the sex proportions is no less significant. Madras, which is not an industrial centre, and which does not recognise the *ghosha*, does not show this disparity.

The number of females to 1,000 males in some of the important industrial cities is given below : Madras, 946 ; Calcutta, 430 ; Bombay, 562. Madras, with its large number of female domestic servants and other unskilled female labourers, is much like a Western city, and can be easily distinguished in its social composition from a city like Calcutta. At the age period 15-20, for every 1,000 males there are only 467 and 553 females in Calcutta and Bombay respectively ; while the corresponding figure for Madras is 1,040. In the English towns at the same age period there are 1,070 females to 1,000 males. In Madras the disparity between the sex proportions does not directly encourage prostitution as in Bombay, and especially Calcutta, with its single families and disattached social existence. But, on the other hand, the larger percentage (25 per cent.) of unmarried females of the age period 15-20, as compared with 20 and 10 per cent. respectively for Calcutta and Bombay, is full of perils. Again, in Madras the problems of maternal and infantile mortality are far more serious than in the latter places. On account of the equality in sex proportions in Madras city there is a higher proportion of infants there than in Calcutta and Bombay. Thus, per 1,000 of the total population between the age period 0-5, there are 70 and 65 souls in Calcutta and Bombay respectively, while the corresponding figure for Madras is 110. Consequently, the effects of insanitation in the dark, dingy, overcrowded, mud-built huts in Madras are far more shocking as regards

the decimation of children, many of whom are born only to die. Calculating from the infant mortality per 1,000 births: Madras, 277·3, Calcutta, 249·0, Bombay, 410·0, the percentage of infantile deaths to total mortality would be as follows: Madras, 32·4, Calcutta, 21·13, Bombay, 26·56. As a result of the decimation of children in Madras, the number of children under ten years of age is less by 5,000 than it was in 1901. This accounts for the almost stationary character of the population of the city.

Maternal mortality is also greater here. Drink, gambling and vice are too rife in the overcrowded slums, while a poor municipality, with a revenue one-third that of Bombay and one-twelfth that of Calcutta, and its jurisdiction greater than the areas served by the Calcutta and Bombay municipalities, is naturally ill-fitted to cope with these problems in ordinary times—not to speak of its total incapacity when an epidemic of influenza or cholera breaks out in the *paricheris* and *chawls*. Add to these the fact that in industrial centres like Bombay and Howrah the wages of a labourer's family vary from Rs.15 to Rs.30; while in Madras the average earnings of labourers amount to Rs.8 to Rs.12. Thus, whether from the effects of malnutrition or from insanitary living in overcrowded huts, whether from the numerical superiority of infants, mothers and old persons who are naturally ill-fitted to bear the trials of life and economic stress, or from the inadequate resources of a comparatively poor municipality, the situation in Madras is far more serious than that in Calcutta and Bombay, and bears ample witness to the dangers of a sudden transition from the agricultural-communal to the new urban-industrial life of a people naturally adapted to communal habits and traditions in an environment which is unfavourable for the great industries on the support of which alone a great city can thrive.

Slums of Madras.—The squalor, the degradation and the poverty in the slums of Calcutta and Bombay are far outstripped in the slums of Arlapet in Bangalore and Perambur in Madras. In the Panchama slum near Binny's Mill in Bangalore, the standard size for a room has been

8 feet by 6 feet, the height at the apex being 5 feet. The door being 2 feet by 1 foot, I could squeeze myself with difficulty into the room, to learn to my surprise that the denizens were three adults and two children, and also a dog. The husband, the wife and the mother-in-law, as well as the children, were huddled together like beasts. There was also the hen-cover to the left of the aperture which served as the doorway, and numerous chicks flitted about in the dirt dumped in the yard. In another place farther away on the other side of the same *paricheri* I found in a hut of the same dimensions as many as seven persons—four adults, father and mother, son and daughter-in-law, as well as two children, who lived and slept together. And yet the hut pays double the rent. The Muhammadan land-owner charges for the ground space 4 annas, while the Brahman land-owner charges 8 annas, though the huts are contiguous and the ground space rented is the same.

In another Bangalore slum for the Panchamas—and here it is a *pukka*-built *chhatram* which has been transformed into a slum—the arrangement is this : there is a row of four rooms on each side, an alley in the middle and one room which joins the sides. There are two rooms on each side as one approaches the doorway. There is one corner marked out for bath for nearly fifty persons, who live in this block. There is a privy for fifty persons, from which the filth has not been removed for days. Each of these rooms earns a rent of Re.1-8 as. The rent was Re.1-2 as. before the last assessment. In one of them we were refused entrance as the Ma, or smallpox goddess, was inside. But, having entered, we were face to face with human wretchedness—chicks, dogs and children playing about in the alley, the whole place filled with acrid smoke, and some people down in the dark with influenza and smallpox. The mill-hands, who are not Panchamas, live in better rooms, though they do not earn higher wages and pay rents usually from Re.1-4 to Rs.2, according to the accommodation they want. Still, the rooms are worse than the stables of the rich. In one such block I found a room used as temple for Ramji, which had been rented by the mother of a wage-earner.

Whether in Calcutta or Bombay, Cawnpore, Bangalore or Poona, Ahmedabad or Madras, you are confronted in the *bustis* and *chawls* with living human misery, the dirt and disease of hell incarnate. Everywhere the standard size of a kennel is adopted, 8' \times 5' \times 5', and very often the side-walls of the thatched shed admit both cold and rain. Everywhere there are unsymmetrical blocks of hundreds of these mud dens or thatched sheds, the living places of 2,000 or 3,000 souls, where there is the most appalling congestion, every inch of ground space being utilised to the utmost. In too many of these huts father and mother, son and daughter-in-law, grown-up men and women, live and sleep together in the same room, mixed up with chicks and dogs and ailing babies that are not better treated than the livestock. In the Panchama *busti* the overcrowding and the filth are the most unwholesome. Among the Madras slums which I visited, one had a doorway which was 2½ feet by 1 foot, and, on squeezing myself with great difficulty into the room, I found a diseased ragged man, who was actually sitting on a wooden plank with his feet under water. The thatch was broken and was not proof against rain, of which on that wet day I had personal experience. I found that the hut was circular, the diameter being 5 feet, the height at the apex being only 5 feet. Besides, there were *parans* (shelves) on all sides, and I could not stand erect. In this dark and filthy den there lived a couple and four ailing babies. There was also the *adupu* (hearth), raised on an earthen mound which protected it from wind, but had not protected it against rain. That Panchama family earned wages of Rs.8 a month, and lived in a surrounding which was unspeakably filthy. The causes were drink and social obloquy. Unless the standard of life, of comfort and of activities is improved in the case of the Panchamas by our offering them greater social opportunities and respectability, they will perpetuate their life of filth and uncleanness, and continue to lower the standard of living of the mill population as a whole in Southern India, and thus be a permanent obstruction to economic progress. In the case of the Uttamas the filth may be less, but the congestion is not less terrible. In one house

I found, besides the husband and the wife, as many as nine children, three of whom belonged to a deceased brother. In another Madras slum, perhaps the worst I have visited, I found a father and mother living with five children in a room $4' \times 7' \times 6'$. The mother had given birth to a baby in the same room only recently—84 cubic feet for seven souls! The verandah was $2\frac{1}{2}' \times 2'$, and it was giving protection to an old man who lost his shed in the last storm.

In still another hut, which was $8' \times 7' \times 6'$ in size, there lived three adult women and four children. The children earned wages of $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day by *coolie* work in a neighbouring mill. There were no adult males, and the poverty was so great that the women had not even clothes to hide their shame.

But a real revelation in slum studies comes from Trichinopoly, where the middle-class Brahmans are found to live under conditions which are not much better than those of the *chawls* and *bustis* of the poor. In the Nagana-duswami temple store I found a room $6' \times 8' \times 10'$ occupied by a Brahman, his mother, his wife and five children, two of whom were his brother's. Another room of the same size was occupied by a Brahman and his wife, their two grown-up daughters and one son. *Parans* or shelves for bed or for fuel hardly allowed a visitor to stand erect. The rent was Rs.2, which had to be paid in advance. Eighty souls inhabited this compact group, called the store, and there were only two privies for them. There were two taps and a well, and municipal regulations allowed only eight pots of water for each family.

The slums in Labbay Lane, Singartop, and in Jalalkuthri, are far worse. In Jalalkuthri I found a Muhammadan hut occupied by the parents, four grown-up boys and one ailing baby. The hut was $8' \times 8' \times 5'$ and carried a rent of Re.1-2-0. In another hut, which was so dark that one could not see anything even in the noonday sun, there lived a mother and three adult daughters—all prostitutes—in a close space of $10' \times 6' \times 10'$. There was a kitchen partitioned off within the same hut, occupying nearly half of the total space. The rent was Re.1, payable in advance.

The tragedy is, however, deeper when we see the rise of some of the most sordid slums of India in one of our most beautiful ancient temple cities. In Madura, in Ponnagaran, for instance, not very far from the temples of Meenakshi and Sundareswar, there have developed some slum dwellings indescribable in their filth and squalor. The average size is now reduced to $6' \times 5' \times 5'$. On account of an increase of the municipal tax on the whole block, the landowner has increased the house-rent from 4 annas to 6 annas, from 6 annas to 8 annas, and from Re. 1 to Re. 1-2-0, according to the size of the rooms. In one room, which was $6' \times 8' \times 10'$, there were a couple and two stunted and diseased babies. The parents had gone to work in the factory, the father earning Rs. 10 and the mother Rs. 6 a month. The babies were left in charge of their decrepit grandmother. Here and there in this block had accumulated green sheets of water emitting a foul stench and covered with rags and rubbish. There was only one privy in the block for 300 persons. This privy, again, had not been built by the municipality. The workmen themselves built it by communal subscriptions. The walls had crumbled down, and there was no decency. All the workmen complained of this, and also emphasised that the huts nearer the privy were all uninhabitable because of the loathsome smell.

The greatest misery and degradation associated with the new social and economic conditions that I have witnessed is in the commercial city of Mattancheri, adjoining the Cochin port. The terrible congestion in a narrow space, the agglomeration of heterogeneous peoples, white Jews and black Jews, Eurasians and low-class Muhammadans, as well as the peculiar form of marriage associated with Nair life and customs, have all contributed to uncleanness and filth and general social and moral deterioration. In a compact block of land, which belongs to the famous Jewish Synagogue, and which has been leased by a Muhammadan landlord, there have grown up lines of huts—dark, dingy and gloomy. In a small hut of $8' \times 6' \times 5'$ I found a couple and four children. In another hut of $10' \times 4' \times 5'$ there lived together the husband and the wife, the husband's

grown-up sister and also a grown-up brother. The rent was Re.1-4-0. There was a baby in the family, who was suffering from an unclean disease. Adjoining are the prostitutes' sheds of 7' \times 5' \times 6', each carrying a rent of Re.1-4-0, and in one of which was seen a sickly baby uncared for, crawling on the dark and dirty floor. From another in the same block an unfortunate woman had been expelled for her inability to pay rent for three months, and she was standing outside the whole day in the hot sun with a child in her bosom. Such women are coming to be more and more known in every large industrial city in India, given over to what in the irony of words thoughtlessly employed is called sport. In Mattancheri the prostitute is more in evidence than her more hard-working and virtuous sister, the *coolie* woman. In the *bustis* and *chawls* she is more in evidence, and in some cities she is seen in the street day and night, and in some quarters fairly in herds. Along with the overcrowded workshops and congested slums, the grogshops and the tea and coffee resorts, she seems to be regarded as being as essential to existence as industrialism and the flimsy finery of city life.

Slums and Degeneracy.—The breathing of a vicious atmosphere, the want of room for proper exercise, the lack of sufficient sunlight and ventilation, have everywhere serious effects on bodily growth and development. It has been estimated that the average boy of a one-room home loses at least 4 inches in growth, and at least 11 lbs. in weight by comparison with the average boy reared in a home of four rooms. The general dreariness, dinginess and dirtiness of the slums also steadily react upon the hopes and habits of the people and induce that lassitude of mind which reacts again upon the health of the body. All this leads not only to a physical waste of energy and general enervation, but also to a low standard of health and low resisting power, which play directly into the hands of immorality, intemperance, gambling and other vices rampant in all our slum areas. Indulgence causes more and more of the squalor, and thus the vicious circle with which we are so familiar in the social problem perpetuates its evil round.

CHAPTER XIX.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN RELATION TO THE SOCIAL EVIL.

Prostitution in Indian Cities.—The statistics of prostitution of our two main cities are appalling. The total number of prostitutes in Calcutta and suburbs is 16,000. Among women aged 20 to 40, one in every twelve is a woman of ill-fame. It should be added that no fewer than 1,096 girls under 10 years of age are dependent on prostitutes, and they are to be assumed as being brought up to the life of shame. It should also be pointed out that the majority of these girls are not the children of the women with whom they live, but have been purchased or deluded by these latter.

The houses of ill-fame are managed by women, who have agents in different districts who furnish them with "fresh goods." These girls are given separate rooms, for which they pay exorbitant rents; and, from little advances of money, food, clothing or ornaments, the manager and his procurers come slowly but surely to obtrude, as octopi with their suckered limbs, and take control of the details of their life with a hideous grip, from which there is no escape. This is especially true of the lower class of women who live in *bustis*, paying rents or yielding a net profit to their keepers. In this transaction there are all the characteristic classes: the capitalist or landlord, the labourer who is paid in advance or gets wages, and the exploitative middleman or procurer; but what are purchased or sold are not ordinary wares, but the souls of our girls and their bodies, which are exhibited in the streets as goods in the market-place. And, when once in the market-place, they will be there always. Unemployment and starvation will

come ; but this market, this exchange and this traffic in young girls, are still growing in the cities of Calcutta and Bombay.

Still-Births and Venereal Disease.—In Bombay the spread of venereal diseases is alarming. In Calcutta also the danger is not less. The number of still-births, 1,101, or one out of every seventeen births, is very high. Ordinarily in Western countries, under the prevailing conditions of domestic life and of marriage, so great an excess of still-births would lead to a suspicion of a widespread syphilitic taint among the people ; and this is the conclusion which has found favour with some sanitary authorities. But in India, under the conditions of infant marriage and repeated lactation and child-births in conditions of relative immaturity, the high proportion of still-births cannot be accepted as establishing the taint in question until and unless direct evidences are forthcoming from medical investigations and hospital records. In this connection some light may be thrown on the subject by the relative rates of admission to military hospitals of Indian and British soldiers respectively for treatment for the venereal diseases.

In Bengal there were 69,681 patients treated for venereal diseases in 1914, 71,032 in 1915, and 77,998 in 1916, of whom 16,575, 14,648 and 18,459 attended the Calcutta institutions, including the Voluntary Venereal Hospital, Alipore, and 53,106, 56,384 and 59,539 were treated in the *mofussil* hospitals and dispensaries. It is impossible to say whether the increased attendance is due to an increase in the number of venereal patients in the province or to greater readiness in coming for treatment to the public hospitals. But there is some reason to believe that venereal diseases are on the increase. These are naturally most prevalent in large cities and towns, and in rural areas they are more prevalent in those places which are in most frequent communication with the towns.¹

Calcutta and Western Cities.—And yet it is not the Indian cities in particular which ought to be blamed for the

¹ *Triennial Report on the working of Hospitals and Dispensaries, 1914, 1915, 1916*, by Surgeon-General W. R. Edwards.

social evil. The number of prostitutes in Calcutta, indeed, compares favourably with that in the Western cities. (8)

Cities.	Total Population.	Number of Prostitutes.
New York	4,014,000	40,000
Berlin	2,033,000	30,000
Paris	2,714,000	60,000
London	4,654,000	30,000
Calcutta	1,043,300	16,000

But this does not mitigate matters. We ought to analyse the causes of prostitution in the city as a means of analysing how the evil can be met. The real cause of prostitution lies not in the girls who fall, but in the economic and social conditions which make the fall easy. In the mills women work long hours for small wages and in the company of lewd men, who live away from their families in a bad environment; they are lured to vice in an hour of special weariness awaited by the tempter. Where homes are distracted by wants and give no enjoyment, and streets are the only refuge, where the social system encourages only one-sided morality and education fails to cope with the demands of human nature, distress and temptation are grave menaces to purity and chastity. In Calcutta the analysis of the population throws great light on the social problem.

Excess of Male Population in Calcutta and Bombay.—The most noticeable feature of the population of Calcutta is the large proportion of immigrants. Calcutta is the birth-place of only three-tenths of its residents, and one-tenth comes from places in the twenty-four *parganas*. A special return prepared of the ages and occupations of twenty-six large and representative castes among the immigrant population yields some interesting information bearing on this question. The aggregate number dealt with is 290,000, and of the districts from which they are drawn, nine are in Bengal, nine in Bihar and Orissa, four in the United Provinces, and two in Rajputana. The figures are to be taken as typical of the immigrant population. There are only two females to every

five male immigrants; over two-thirds of the latter are actual workers, but only one-fourth of the females are actually engaged in any occupation. Prostitutes alone account for one-fourth of the female workers, and their number is equal to one-seventh of the women of adult age. Altogether only 15 per cent. of both sexes are under 15 years. Half the women and two-thirds of the men are adults, i.e., aged 15 to 40; at this age-period there are three males to every female.¹

Among some immigrants the disproportion between the sexes is very great. Thus, among the Khandaits, who number 9,786, the number of females per 1,000 *males* is as follows:—

All ages.	15 to 20.	20 to 40.	40 and over.
31	22	24	37

Thus between 15 and 40, there is hardly one female to every twenty males. Among Hindu immigrants there are only two women to every four men, while among the Muhammadan immigrants there is only one woman to every five men. It is this lack of women of adult age that bears a great responsibility for prostitution.

Employment and service attract men from Bengal and from India generally, but they cannot come with their families, for there is a chronic house famine in Calcutta. The workmen, who form about 75 per cent. of the population, can afford but single rooms in slums and *chawls*, where they eat and sleep and propagate; while the lower middle-classes live in messes or partitioned houses and do not ordinarily bring their families with them. The class of population which brings its women-folk to Calcutta is settling in the suburbs,² and not in the centre of Calcutta; in the centre we tend to have a population of single men—of the ever-increasing crowd of labourers and traders who visit Calcutta only temporarily. The increase of population from 1901–1911 in Manicktola, Garden Reach and Cossipore-Chitpur amounted to 32,000 males and 20,000 females—figures which contrast strongly with those for Calcutta,

¹ O'Malley—*Census of the City of Calcutta*, 1911.

² Mr. Bompas's Lecture, June 25, 1912.

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where the increase was 38,000 males and only 4,300 females.

It is clear that the drift of an unstable and temporary floating population to the city for employment and for service when the families are left in their native villages bears responsibility for the striking disproportion between the sexes and for prostitution. This disparity between the proportion of the sexes in the total population of Calcutta has been marked ever since census operations have been undertaken.

	Males.	Females.	Excess of males as compared with females.
1872	407,742	225,267	1·81 times.
1876	388,766	223,018	1·74 "
1881	393,453	213,854	1·83 "
1891	447,162	235,143	1·91 "
1901	562,596	285,200	1·97 "
1911	607,674	288,392	2·11 "

The above figures show the number of males to be more than twice the number of females, and this excess is steadily increasing from year to year. Another peculiarity noticeable is the large *floating population* in the city. In his report for 1906 the health officer observed that "after making considerable allowances for defective registration of births, it would appear that we have an unnatural decrease, and that the population is maintained by *wholesale immigration from rural districts*." ¹ Rural standards and ideals, communal ethics and religion, are thrown to the winds when a drifting, floating population is face to face with vice and temptation in the slums of a cosmopolitan city, and the broken homesteads in our deserted villages have their obverse in the crowded brothels of our unclean cities.

In Bombay, also, the general proportion of females to 1,000 males is steadily decreasing with their attendant evils of the disintegration of the home, vice and prostitution.

¹ S. W. Goodes, *Municipal Calcutta*.

	Proportion of females to 1,000 males.
1872	649
1881	664
1891	586
1901	617
1906	595
1911	562

We have already pointed out that in towns in England, at the age 15 to 20, there are 107 females to 100 males. Females migrate to towns as domestic servants, leaving their brothers behind them. Between the ages 20 to 45 the excess of females is gradually diminished, and the proportion is very nearly the same. In Calcutta there are only 47 females to every 100 males. A similar disparity is also true of other cities in India, though Calcutta and Bombay are extreme examples.

NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES.

1. Cawnpore	728
2. Kolar Gold Fields	739
3. Bombay	562
4. Madras	946
5. Howrah	530
6. Calcutta	430

The reason for the practical equality in the proportion in Madras and its significance have been already pointed out.

Unnatural Conditions the Cause of Prostitution.—We should also remember that in India, and especially in Bengal, the domestic feelings and sentiments are peculiarly strong. Family affection and infant marriage are potent factors in our domestic life, and no condition has been so unnatural, depressing and dehumanising as has been brought about in Calcutta by poverty and house-famine among the labouring and middle-classes, who are thus compelled to live single lives in the artificial city environment with so many pleasures to tempt and so little of the touch with nature and communal morality to protect. Prostitution is a reaction against this unnatural situation. Apart from this, the housing conditions have their influence on morals. P. Hirsch observes: "A lodging fit for a human being is the first requirement for the bodily and mental welfare of the family; it is the pre-requisite for a well-

regulated family life, and for the rearing of the children to be moral men and women. The improprieties resulting from the exigencies of insufficient dwellings are innumerable, and this condition is an inexhaustible source of crime, prostitution and vice of every kind." Labourers come to Calcutta from the villages and live without family in overcrowded *bustis* and *chawls*, in rooms dark, dingy and gloomy, that are without comfort and attractiveness. Such conditions destroy alertness of attention, deaden and stupefy the intelligence; they substitute intense for mild pleasures, and produce a craving for unnatural excitement. They seek refuge in unwholesome recreation, in wine or women. And the dram-shop or brothel are places where there are also light and gaiety, where there are comrades and other topics of conversation than the perpetual heavy cares of life, and, above all, for a little money they may procure there the means of forgetting for the moment in drink and passion the miseries of life. The squalor and the dirt promote the impulses of moral uncleanness on the one hand, and on the other, malnutrition and innutrition, with the consequent nervous depression, are apt to be followed by reactionary organic excesses and diminution of inhibiting power, and such moral degradation can only be prevented by better conditions of housing and labour, healthy recreations, and greater opportunities by a more humane and equitable treatment of these classes in accordance with the demands of social justice.

Problems First to be Solved.—The whole problem of social hygiene is indissolubly mixed up in this country with the problems of poverty, of the revival of the village, of the reorganisation of our industrial and social system, and of the conditions of employment of our girls. A working-class that maintains infant marriage, that eats and sleeps and propagates in the slums, where the opportunity for bestial life is constant; a poor middle-class that has to subsist on low salaries in a city where high rents compel it to live in messes and flats far away from the checks and influences of family and communal life and traditions; the total dependence of the woman for livelihood on her husband's earnings, and the

social and domestic conditions that make her independent living on her own earnings impossible ; a helpless widowhood that is no longer able to subsist by domestic arts and is left disattached or unattached owing to the disintegration of family ties and communal bonds ; the lapse of the older customary rights of *streedhan*, which used to serve as an insurance against destitution and contumely ; the system of employment of female labour in our jute and cotton mills under bad conditions and in a bad environment ; the growing poverty and stress rendered more acute by a social ethics which has not as yet been able to adapt itself to new economic conditions ; the want of adaptation of the regulations of our sexual code to the new conditions of mixed labour in our centres of industry among the labouring classes, as well as to the demands of a freer intercourse between man and woman among our middle classes which modern social conditions imply—the solution of such economic and social problems must precede all attempts to solve the insistent problems of social hygiene and social purity in our cities.

Antiquity of Methods of "Regulation."—In ancient India the modern European methods of "regulation" were operative. There were licensing, taxation, as well as segregation, of fallen women. Every public woman (*rupajiva*) paid every month twice the amount of a day's earning. The superintendent (*ganikadhaksha*) determined their earnings, inheritance income, expenditure and future earnings. Extravagant expenditure was penalised. Every public woman supplied information to the superintendent as to the amount of her daily fees (*bhoga*), her income and the name of her paramour. When a prostitute against her will, or a minor girl, was outraged, a heavy penalty was imposed. Public women could gain their freedom by paying a ransom ; when they lost their beauty or became old, they could be appointed as nurses (*matrika*), or in the storehouse or kitchen of the royal household. Medical inspection was not thought of, since the curse which is imported from the West, where it is a universal and a relentless scourge, was then unknown. This was perhaps introduced into India in the fifteenth century, since the first mention of it occurs in the *Bhabaprakasa*

which speaks of the taint as coming through the Eurasians.

"Regulation" in Japan.—In Japan the evils of wholesale prostitution have been recognised and all loose women are requested to congregate in particular localities. At present the word *joshiwara* means any place set apart as a residence for women who choose to lead this unattached, or, as is sometimes the case in Japan, semi-detached existence. In the large towns the houses occupied by these women are owned by men who charge the women so much for the accommodation, or who advance loans to the relatives of the women who come to their houses. It does not appear that any ignominy is attached to the profession. Thus, when a married couple gets into financial difficulties, the woman will go to one of the *joshiwara* for a fixed number of years, in consideration of a sum of money granted by the *joshiwara* owner to the husband of the woman. Or a young woman wants to help her parents ; so she joins one of these establishments for a sum of money paid to her parents. Other women go there to find a husband. It is often in duty to or for love of parents or the lover that they pursue this existence. Lock hospitals are maintained by a syndicate consisting of the owners of the houses where the girls live. Every woman in the *joshiwara* is examined once a week for venereal diseases, and once a month for the purpose of seeing that her general health is good. Government has nothing to do with them or the *joshiwara* beyond collecting the usual tax on the house-owners, so much per girl, and supervising the working by means of visits paid frequently by the quarantine officer, who sees that the government orders instituted for the conduct of the institutions are duly observed. There are four such institutions in Tokio, taking care of 6,500 women.

"Regulation" in the West.—On the European continent the controversy as regards the social morality, hygiene and expediency of regulation has long been settled, and the system of regulation has been accepted as an integral part of the social economy and hygiene. In Great Britain there have been alterations of policy ; and recently,

after the repeal of the licensing provisions under the Contagious Diseases Acts, there has been a fresh agitation in militaristic camps in England, as well as in India, to re-introduce the regulation in the interests of the health and physique of the army. The general question of state revenues from the licensing of vice and passion, as well as the taxation of the earnings and profits of unsocial and anti-social trades, vocations and services developing from a more or less universal system of excise, gambling, racing, and lottery to stock-jobbing and premium bonds of municipalities and nations, of which the regulation and profits of sexual vice are a special case, is one which we cannot stop to consider here.

Why "Regulation" has Failed.—The registration system has proved a failure mainly for two reasons. First, it has mitigated or sought to remove the physiological penalty attached to profligacy. The interference with the natural punishment which does not work at the root causes may be a powerful incentive to vice. Secondly, an inherently unjust and outrageously one-sided social ethics and legislation, which discriminates against the female prostitute, with virtual immunity for the male cadet, who lives upon her earnings, and complete immunity for the male prostitute, equally guilty and unclean, which shuts one door and leaves another door open in the arrangements for inspection and registration, is bound to be futile so far as social health and clean living are concerned.

Impossibility of "Laisser Faire."—On the other hand, to leave the unfortunates to drift as castaways in the muddy waters would be criminal on the part of a society which, by its male code of ethics and social justice, as well as by its denial of economic status and of independent and honourable subsistence, drives multitudes of women to trade on the only capital they possess, and thus makes them succumb to the demands of the tyrant's passions; for, except in abnormal or morbid cases, there is no woman in her natural and normal condition but would shudder at the thought of the outrage on her body and mind which these conditions imply. The attempt at the regulation of

the vice and its evils, while it should be in the direction of segregation, penalising of keepers of houses, landlords, middlemen and procurers, should never go beyond the limits demanded by the inviolable sacredness of the body or person as the shrine of the spirit in woman and man alike. Humanity is brutalised by all outrages on the person.

Removal of Root Causes the Remedy.—The remedies must be sought in other directions. These should be at once remedial and preventive, and be directed to the removal of root causes of the social evil. We have already indicated a few of its originating conditions. These are the disparity between the proportion of the sexes in certain aggregations of population, bad housing conditions in dirt, squalor and destitution, excessive work and nervous depression in conditions of factory life in a denatured city, with the consequent organic reaction and excesses, the creation of an unattached or a disattached womanhood or widowhood without a healthy and secure subsistence, the flaunting evidences of the contrast between immoral prosperity and low wages, as well as irregular employment of domestic servants and workwomen, unfavourable labour conditions of women, as well as of mixed labour generally, and the social injustice involved in making the descent easy and the return difficult for women under a social code in which their honour can more easily be ruined or tarnished than that of men, and sometimes woman's dishonour counts even for man's honour.

Restoration of Sex Balance in Cities.—The economic and social circumstances described above have to be replaced in the cities of the future, in order that social purity may be maintained. For example, in Calcutta and in the Indian cities generally, the excess of males over females, with its consequences, requires industrial rearrangement, and municipal administration and enterprise in the opening out of new careers of independent or subsidiary character, as well as domestic service, handicrafts and home industries, which will attract a regular flow of woman labour from the country districts and thus restore the balance in a population

of single men. Tailoring, millinery, dressmaking, basket making, laundry, midwifery and nursing, poultry keeping, vegetable gardening and dairying in the near future, the varied household arts and industries, and all other forms of woman labour, will naturally draw girls and women from villages which will correct the present disparity.

Prevention of Rural Depopulation.—The development of the variety of woman's occupations in the cities must be accompanied by improvements in agriculture and arts and crafts, which will also react on the conditions of man labour in villages and prevent wholesale migration from rural districts. The danger lies less in the relative increase of the urban population than in the ignorance and mistakes of those who naturally belong to the land and the home industry, because of hereditary training, inheritance, as well as personal adaptability, and who migrate to cities because of misunderstanding, delusions and vain hopes, or the absence of that degree of efficiency and enjoyment that scientific agriculture and handicrafts, co-operative methods and improved education might easily afford in country life. The error is more apparent in the case of woman labour, especially of domestic servants who migrate to cities, who have no place to sleep except in the *busti*, so full of opportunities for immoral life, who have no friends or guardians to watch and warn when they are in danger, but whose secure and honourable livelihood can easily be afforded by domestic and agricultural pursuits in the village. We cannot also forget that there is a great deal in the employment of woman labour in stores and hotels, *pan* (betel), *bidi* (cigarette) shops and sweet-meat establishments, which needs immediate rectification.

Futility of Repressive Measures.—As long as this disparity remains, and the hereditary polygamous or promiscuous instincts of the male, universal in every society, a survival of the old polygamy and promiscuity, are not eradicated by education and domestic institutions and morality, it will be futile to expect that the social evil will cease; and an artificial arrest or repression in the absence of remedial measures may be accompanied by clandestine

tine indulgences which will poison social and domestic morals.

Much remains to be done here within these limits. In Calcutta the policy at present adopted of clearing all disorderly houses from streets declared main thoroughfares, although primarily not one of allocation, would ultimately tend to the establishment of a fixed and definite quarter, in which disorderly houses will be situated. But no clear and well-defined policy is systematically followed in the direction of segregation. There is, again, no control of the traffic in minor girls, who are made to prostitute themselves even from so early an age as eight or ten, no penalisation of the male cadet, who lives on the income and fall of the women. Even street solicitation is not sufficiently penalised. In 1916 seventeen women were apprehended for soliciting in the streets, one woman was prosecuted thirty-nine times, and six others thirty-eight, twenty-nine, twenty-seven, twenty-six, twenty-two and eighteen times respectively. The average sentence imposed on these women was a fine of Rs.5 or eight days' imprisonment. The necessity for dealing with this evil in a more appropriate way is strikingly emphasised by the figures. The present sentences act in no way as a deterrent.

Auxiliary Remedies.—Such remedial measures will have also to be supplemented by positive educational and moral agencies, the purity of life and uplift of sexual morality in man as well as in woman, and physiological education of the young in the home, pure and wholesome recreations and pleasures, the raising of the standard of wages and betterment of the conditions of labour of women, the endowment and insurance by society of maternity and orphanhood.

The Need for Social Sympathy.—Above all, it is only the balm of social sympathy which can heal the ulcer of woman's dishonour and misfortune. No society can be said to discharge its primary responsibility to humanity which does not provide for the restoration to their due status and natural place the victims of an unnatural social arrangement, which claims its hecatombs by thousands.

Maternity homes and hostels, widows' shelters and refuges, reformatories for minor girls conducted by municipalities and private social missions or charity organisations, and all other methods, educational and industrial, which have been adopted so successfully by the Salvation Army, will be protecting wings as it were by which the mother society will gather into her bosom the unhappy and sorrowing brood of her wounded and afflicted children, and hide them from shame and prosecution.

CHAPTER XX.

ADJUSTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS TO HUMAN VALUES.

THE social and economic conditions in Indian urban life, which are the contributory causes of prostitution as described above, affect the working classes more than the other sections of the community. But social conditions of labour life in the city factory and the crowded workshop, in *bustis* and *chawls*, have other more serious aspects detrimental to life and efficiency. Long hours and long shifts, overcrowded slums and congested latrines, have detrimental social and moral, as well as economic, effects.

Eastern Long Hours of Labour.—The prevailing uniformity in the hours of work, and the traditional division of day and night shifts throughout the year, must be given up. India is a land of well-defined seasons and climatic extremes, and it is well known that the afternoon hours in summer are much more exhausting and impose a greater strain on the nervous energy than the corresponding intervals in winter. It is an important problem of the scientific management of industry in India to determine the most efficient mixture of day and night hours and the proper time of working in the hot and cold weather. Both the system of shifts and the hours of working should also be so regulated as to allow the operatives sufficient leisure for food and for rest. What leisure for food is possible to a factory woman who has to attend work at 6 in the morning, and, excepting for an interval of half an hour after 12, labour till 6 p.m. in the evening? What time has she for recreation, for leisure to attend to the affairs of her house or to the requirements of her children? And yet I found

such a factory woman in the slums of Madura who had three children, and who, in spite of her pregnancy, had to work for eleven and a-half hours in a crowded workshop in the tropical heat of 110 degrees, because her husband had gone back to his village on account of illness. The Indian Factories Act allows a working day of twelve hours' full work, the only stipulation being that there must be an interval of half an hour, in the course of the day's work, during which the machines are not to be used. The mill may, therefore, run from 6.30 a.m. in the morning to 7 p.m. at night, with an interval of half an hour only in the middle of the day for food and rest. The Indian mills run for seventy-two hours per week, the mills in England and America run between forty-two and forty-eight hours per week. In some of the Indian mines men and women labourers are known to work for twenty-two to twenty-four hours a day, food being brought to them in the coal-pits. In the case of textile workers, it is provided that no child (defined as a person below the age of 14) may be employed for more than six hours in any one day. The employment of women and children and also of adult males in factories where the shift system is not in force has been prohibited excepting between 5.30 a.m. and 7 p.m. The greatest difficulty in shortening the hours of labour lies in the competition with Japan, where the strain of the factory work, especially upon women, is far greater than in India. In Japan the factory law promulgated in September, 1916, prohibited the employment of boys under fifteen years of age and girls and women for a period exceeding twelve hours a day, but provided that in the weaving and knitting industries the working hours may be extended up to fourteen hours during the two years following the promulgation of the law. The period expired on September, 1919, from which date the working time for boys under 15 years of age, girls and women could be accordingly reduced from fourteen to twelve hours. As it is, the hours of labour involve too heavy a strain; and, since the dangers in an unregulated commercialism of flooding a neighbouring country with sweated goods are real and serious in this

case, it is surely a case for international action and regulation. (9)

Factory Adapted to Indian Habits.—We have already pointed out that a leisurely mode of work which allows of relaxation and disengagement at intervals is well adapted to the Indian climate and the habits of the Indian labourer, who shows much greater efficiency than the Western labourers when such conditions are fulfilled in employment and in work. An interesting experiment to adapt the hours of factory work to Indian habits is to be seen in a type of mill in Madras where the managing body employs an overplus of workmen to run the machine, paying them good wages, and then permitting each labourer a margin of leisure to go out, and smoke and sleep, while the labourer next to him keeps an eye on his machine, which is kept running while he is away. The whole mill has its breakfast not in the interval but during actual working hours. The men under these conditions are contented, while the number of hours per week that the machines can be run are greater. The greater expenses for the larger number of labourers employed are compensated by the greater number of machine hours as well as the cheap cost of labour. Neither in the system of shifts nor in the hours of labour has factory legislation in India recognised the habits and psychology of the Indian labourer. (10)

Amendment of Factories Act Necessary.—The Factories Act in India, indeed, needs immediate amendment. The hours of labour not only are far too unsuited, but also there are not sufficient safeguards against the exploitation of children as well as women. Children under the age of 12 years should not be employed. Again, how often the factory inspectors wink at or are deluded when gunny bags and baskets cover boys below the minimum age out of sight when they are on their round? Eleven hours of work for a woman and seven hours for a child under 9 years of age, with half an hour of interval during the day, in oppressive heat, is a cruel exaction for the pittance they receive. No child can grow up to be strong and vigorous, no woman can help but neglect her health and by weakening

her vitality impair the future of the family and the race, in these conditions. In Bombay Presidency alone, the number of women employed in factories has risen from 51,171 in 1913 to 56,215 in 1917. Irregularities and breaches of the law relating to the conditions of work for women, who are even less articulate than the men factory workers, continue to be frequent, and among these the employment of women for night work is the most serious. The chief inspector of factories remarks that it is very difficult to detect irregularities and to check the abuses that continue to exist notwithstanding the stray prosecutions instituted year after year. The appointment of women inspectors of factories attending to the observance of the few provisions in the Indian Factories Act relating to the employment of women, and if possible of children also, is an imperative need. Apart from the grave abuses connected with the prevailing exploitation of child labour and the illegal employment of woman labour, the prevailing legal methods of employment and long hours of labour present serious problems. There is, indeed, something dreadful in the expectation that mill labourers, men, women, and too often children also, shall rise in the dark (because hooters are forbidden), stagger half asleep to the mill-gates, snatch a little more sleep on the stones outside the gate, toil at a monotonous task from daylight to dark, with one short recognised interval for food, and several short unrecognised intervals for sleep or tobacco.

Good Effect of Reduction of Hours.—If the mill labourer's hours are reduced, he will feel fitter and will consciously or unconsciously work harder. Already in the few experiments that have been made in Cawnpore and elsewhere in reducing hours, it has been found that there was no decrease in output, but, on the contrary, a slight increase. Labourers in England are already working eight hours daily and agitating for a six-hour day, and considering the physical stamina of European and Indian labourers, and the general incapacity of the latter to work in the tropical heat in the overcrowded factories, the conditions of mill labour in India are too exacting. English

experience, carefully sifted and preserved in parliamentary reports and in laws and rules, shows clearly that the eight-hour working-day is a healthy measure which pays. The idea had long been maintained, but it is now moulded into fact in the crucible of war. A nation needing maximum production for the life and death struggle in which it was engaged found that the best results were obtained by shortening the hours of labour. America followed suit, and during the brief time in which industry was keyed up to the maximum pitch, the eight-hour day was rapidly applied, voluntarily by employers and involuntarily under order of the war labour board. But, under the conditions of work in the Indian factories, fatigue, the cumulative result of excessive labour, has been a health-hazard of the first magnitude.¹

Strike Developments in India.—The low wages, the long hours of labour, and the general economic pressure, coupled with the peculiar psychology of the Indian factory hand, who is primarily an agriculturist and has not been able as yet to adapt himself to the alien city environment, have led to strikes, which have been known ever since the first modern factory was erected in India. For the past five years Bombay has been earning an unenviable reputation in this regard; and, in January, 1918, the general strike of the cotton-mill operatives is not only the biggest strike known in the history of mill industry in India, but also is quite new in its aim and methods. (11) Hitherto strikes have been sectional and isolated, but in this case not only 100,000 cotton operatives were out and every cotton mill was shut down, but the strike also spread to other sections of labour. The unrest spread with the rapidity of a hay-stack fire, affecting dockyard hands, workers in the mint, employees of engineering works and shipping companies and *melhas* of the cloth market. It seemed that a general strike was imminent. Considering that labour in India is not consolidated in a trade-union, the strike was wonderfully

¹ "Health Problems of Industrial Workers in a Reconstruction Labour Policy," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1919.

well-organised. Since employers were deaf to the legitimate demands of the work-people, there was nothing left for them to do but to combine in a general application of coercive measures. This, in fact, is the very foundation of syndicalism and shows the magnitude of the new forces which are bringing India into line with the international proletariat which is emerging from the Peace Conference, and which the European or Indian capitalist ought now to take into account. (12)

In the end the mill-owners consented to make several concessions to the strikers, but the end of the strike came because of the ravages of cholera. It is true that the Indian labourers, having no trade-unions, can get no strike pay to sustain their unity and resolution. The recently instituted labour union of Madras marks a new advance in the direction of the organisation of Indian mill labour. In one of the recent Madras strikes I found that, however well the mill operatives pulled together, their capacity for indebtedness to the local shopkeepers could not serve them for more than three weeks, though they denied themselves fish or mutton, and were satisfied merely with rice, sauce, pepper, water and milk in one meal a day, their daughters and wives, who do not work and earn, continually finding fault with them, thinking that they were shirking work for sheer idleness. But the strength of caste ties and of social sympathies puzzles the Western mill-owners. Nor can they understand the power of resistance of the urban labourers in India arising from their ability to go back to the land, a resource of endurance in unemployment which Western mill-hands do not possess.

Disease Perils of Indian Strikes.—But such advantages of the Indian factory hand are of no avail, on account of the unhealthy housing conditions and general condition of innutrition. The diseases arising from a labour strike in India are unknown in the West, and the relation between the frightful rise in the mortality and a labour strike is a matter which ought to be pondered over. Thus we have a notable difference between a strike in India and a strike in the West. The testimony of Dr. Turner, the Health Officer of the

Corporation, is much to the point. He wrote: "On the 10th January, the cholera deaths were 26 and declining. On the 9th January the mill-hands struck work and the mills were closed; a few days later the cholera mortality rose to 48 on the 17th and 311 to-day. Instead of being able to use the latrines of the mills, the 150,000 persons resorted to the congested *chawls*, passages, lanes, open spaces. Instead of being at work from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. they hang about the *chawls* and the streets, eating and drinking whatever they can get, parading the streets and joining funeral parties. A visit to a mill *chawl* in the early morning will find the rooms and verandahs full of people, who would otherwise be employed in comparatively sanitary mills with sanitary arrangements and a certain amount of time for rest, certainly better off than in the overcrowded, dark and dirty *chawls*. Overcrowding the *chawls* at night is bad enough, but when the occupants, who should be out at work, occupy the *chawls* all day and night, using the latrines and bathing places, which became full of excreta which cannot be removed at once, and when cases of cholera and deaths occur in these *chawls*, the danger of spreading the disease is more than doubled. The side issues of the labour strike are disease and death. Cholera is proverbially the most difficult disease to control. The person attacked, even if in robust health, if not put under expert medical treatment at once, has very little chance, and his position is worse still when reduced by want of food, bad food and lowered vitality, overcrowded houses and congested latrines."

Housing and Sanitary Reforms.—All this makes a lock-out in India a much more effective weapon in the hands of the employers than it is in the West. Sooner or later the housing conditions of the operatives, and the whole system of conservancy and drainage in the labourers' quarters, must be thoroughly overhauled. The difficulties are many. In Bombay, for instance, the early builders were criminally short-sighted in allowing large cotton mills to be erected in what has now become the very heart of the city, where there is not an inch of elbow-room. To buy lands for labour lines in the vicinity of the mills is often very difficult. The

early policy of the Improvement Trust, which pulled down buildings to make new roads without first providing elsewhere for the dispossessed residents, has contributed to create a chronic house famine. The lack of cheap communications stands in the way of developing a labour colony in the north, where there is plenty of land. There is scant room to move in Bombay, and, until great schemes of reclamation are undertaken, particularly the Back Bay Scheme, the question of having workmen's lines in the vicinity of the mills will be delayed. (13) Improved communications will make the labour colonies easier to establish, but the Calcutta jute mills suffer from no such predicament. In the riparian municipalities of Howrah and Hooghly it will be far easier to provide sanitary and comfortable dwellings for jute-mill labour, and to establish labour villages.

Garden Villages for Indian Workers.—Improved method of transit would enable labourers to live in villages with fair-sized gardens of their own, and to move to and fro as they already do in many places, and light railways, motor lorries or launches would convey them to their places of work. If some of the mills combine together, one labour village for the housing of the operatives can easily be established, and the operatives will obtain some of the advantages of out-door rural life, with opportunities for the natural and healthful occupation of cultivating the soil. It is not also too much to expect that a municipality, or even a *zamindar* who has seen the dirt and disease of the crowded *bustis* on his own lands and has found it difficult to realise the arrears of rent from a slippery floating mill population, will build cottages with good-sized gardens, and roads, wide and tree-lined, and tanks and temples. The sites and cottages will be sold or leased, and it will not be a bad investment. The state or the municipality may find or raise the capital sum for construction of workmen's dwellings. Investments at moderate interest might be invited by the state or municipality, and donations might also come in. According to the co-operative housing schemes, a proportion of the capital costs may be advanced to the labourers or middle-classes by the municipality, which will

indemnify itself by periodic deduction from the pay of the shareholders for the necessary term of years. For help that labourers give in building their own homes they may be credited as shareholders with assurance of rent proportionately reduced accordingly, and cash payment in emergency. Above all, the sense of social duty must be brought home to the employers. The business or mill always earns some monopoly advantages or "unearned increment," and it is only as a debt that production, which reaps some special advantages of its own, owes to humanity that the factory owners should be required to spend a portion of their profits on the labourers' settlement and its social activities, and in raising the wages of the labourers, even as schemes of land nationalisation and taxation of land values have established the principle of throwing on such unearned increment the economic and social burden of maintaining and developing the community on whose labour and co-operation the advantages of all monopolies, whether of land or specialised capital and machinery, depend.

In the labourers' settlements not merely work-people, but carpenters, blacksmiths, barbers, sweepers will be given cottages, and clerks and assistants their dwellings, and the whole mill colony will be provided with a good, healthy, pleasant habitation. And the workmen, whom the railway goods trains now bring to and fro like shuttlecocks from their workshops to the labourers' *bustis* in the morning hours, the hours of meals and evening, will have more rest from their daily toil in these villages, situated within an easy distance from the factories. The labour villages will be replicas of the villages of the work-people. Their families will come, and with them will come restraint and contentment, healthy food, clean living and wholesome recreations. In such garden villages, with mentality enlivened by contact with something of rural beauty and growth, cottage industry will reappear, and also artistic industries from lapidary work down to the manufacture of buttons and wearing embroidery. Communal ethics and traditions, communal festivals and amusements will again assert themselves, and in these new mill villages of electricity and art, hygiene and

initiative, new enterprises of our work-people will be seen ; and, in the social institutions and experiments, the old ideals of the race will be renewed and rehabilitated, and grow stronger and nobler for the satisfaction of the more complex ends of economic and civic life.

Persistence of Communal Life.—It is not invariably the case that the mill-hands in the *chawls* and *bustis* live an unattached life, uncared for by any educational agencies or unregulated by any social code. The settled habits of the population, the Indian instinct of attachment to the soil, the home, the local group or the communal god, which have developed into a rich constructive communalism in a deeply socialised and humanised economic life, sometimes leave their marks on an alien industrial type. The distinctions between the old and the alien type are mitigated, and the process is seen silently but inevitably at work. There is sometimes the *punchayet*, which acts as a disciplinary agency. The *punchayet* punishes the immorality of a man or woman, settles disputes and levies fines. The fines are spent to defray the costs of repair of the *chawadi* or the guest-house, cleaning the alleys, drains and latrines of the *busti*, and even for helping the poorer brethren. There is also the communal temple. In one *busti* I found a communal temple which was maintained by the fee income derived from fines levied by the *punchayet*, and there, in the doorway, sat the priest or the story-teller, who recited and explained the story of the *Ramayana* and enlivened it with his songs. In another *busti* I found that the labourers had rented a room which served as the temple of the *busti*.

The God in the Slum.—In the poor men's quarters in the beautiful city of Mysore there is terrible congestion, and all the attendant evils follow in its train. I am giving here the plan of only one dark, dingy, *coolie* hut in a huge sordid block where roo families live. In this particular hut in Bastars Keri, which is certainly representative of the poor man's housing, the *nadamani*, which is also the sleeping room, is 5' × 6'. There is a cradle hung up for the baby, and the mother sleeps here with her baby and two other children. The bedding for the entire family consists

of one mat, one pillow and some sack cloths. There is another adjoining room, which serves as the kitchen, and is considered too small for the father and his two other grown-up boys, who consequently have to pass the night in the *chawadi*. But here, in the midst of this dirt and destitution and by the side of the oven—which has been without fire three days—the whole family having not even *rāgi* for three days, there is installed Anjaneya—Belgire Ranga. And on the roof is placed a *tulasi* plant in a pot, the recovery of which in slumdom is significant, implying the restoration of the old village home, the renewal of the spiritual man and his clean abode. In the dark hut, where one cannot see without the help of a lamp in midday, God shines. In a small hut, where man cannot stand erect, and strikes his head against the *attas*, or the bamboo shelves, God stands in dignity and majesty, for God verily lives in hunger, poverty and dirt. He is there as the Poor God, the God who is sorrow-laden, or is struck down with an incurable illness; and it is there that He demands all our offerings, all our affection and reverence. The Poor God will not accept our worship until and unless every place where He dwells is cleansed and beautified, until both the mansion and the slum become His fit abode.

Communalism the Lever of Reconstruction.—Communalism, as exhibited in the preservation of the *punchayet*, the communal temple and *chawadi*, even in dark and dingy *bustis* and *chawls*, is the lever of reconstruction. The same renewal of communalism will lie at the basis of reconstruction of mill towns, as well as all other labour congregations. The clean and sanitary surroundings, with garden and open spaces and the family and communal life, will develop higher civilisation values, and check intemperance and debauchery that have been so intimately associated with mill life. Tuberculosis can be easily stamped out and prostitution controlled. The relation of workers of different sexes and ages will be carefully regulated. Married women will not be employed in the factories. A woman cannot give proper care to the home and children if she is spending the greater part of her time in the factory, and investigations

have proved the very bad effect of married women working in factories, both upon the husband and the children.¹ Widows, or a few unmarried women in poor circumstances, may be employed for a short shift. The vegetable garden, adjoining the labourer's cottage, will give enough remunerative work for the toiler's wife or widow. Child-bearing and rearing impose upon the woman restrictions as regards such forms and conditions of labour as factory life involves, which are detrimental to the exercise of her supreme functions in the interests of the race ; but, apart from such limiting conditions, they ought to have opportunities of earning a free and independent livelihood in such vocations as domestic arts and handicrafts, shop-keeping and retail-dealing, poultry-keeping or vegetable gardening, in fact in every field of work for which they may have aptitude and natural endowment.

A Western Model Factory.—In the Indian mills the youth of both sexes is indiscriminately mixed under unsatisfactory conditions, and there is grave moral evil. The lewd conversation that one hears in the precincts of the mill, when workers of both sexes are at work in close range, shows the demoralising effects. A similar evil is recognised in the mixing of married men and women with single girls and young people, and this is also one of the objections against the employment of married women in factories. Some of these difficulties have been recognised in some workshops in the West, which are tardily accepting the principle that business efficiency and the health, character and welfare of the employees are but different sides of the same problem. The Bournville Works is one amongst them. It has pursued certain definite ends, and developed certain schemes in a wise and systematic way. The mainspring of its policy has been a sense of social duty. Those who are responsible for the business have aimed at continuity of employment. They have avoided dismissal owing to shortness of work and reduced overtime and short time to a minimum. They have checked the evils of monotony of employment by transferring workers to more varied work as they advance in age.

¹ *Women's Work and Wages*, Cadbury, Matheson and Sharn.

They have demanded the highest quality of work, and made it the interest of the worker to check waste and extravagance. They have provided continued education for all boys and girls, dining-rooms and baths, and established savings banks, and co-operative societies. By careful organisation they have overcome the danger of the indiscriminate mixing of both sexes in the factory. There are separate entrances for men and women, and, by careful planning of passage-ways, they do not use the same passages to and from the dining-rooms, dressing-rooms, etc. No one is allowed in any part of the factory away from his or her own work without a satisfactory reason, and only those men who are carefully selected and wear badges are allowed in the girls' departments. They have adopted a careful method of selecting their employees, a scheme for educating them, carefully thought out methods of promotion, just and fair discipline and opportunities for the development of the organising abilities and initiative of the workers.¹ (14)

Indian Industrial Management.—Modern methods of ventilation and more light and sunshine might be introduced into our houses, factories and workshops, while a knowledge of psychology would enable us to determine what length of hours would guard against fatigue. Scientific thought and a strong public opinion can practically abolish low wages, casual labour and the worst evils of unemployment. Foremen can be elected by the men, and there can be a court of appeal against arbitrary dismissals. It is only a fresh extension of democratic control in factories that will prevent the cleavage of interests between capital and labour. Above all, the necessity for improved conditions of social and moral life outside the factories can hardly be exaggerated.

Our social ethics is different from that of the West. We have a temporary, floating population of mill workers, and again these are not dependent exclusively on factory work for their employment. The conditions of employment of our girls are different. The intercourse between the sexes

¹ See Cadbury's *Experiments of Industrial Organisation*, also *Competition*, written for the Collegium.

is regulated by other rules and conventions. In the social conventions and regulations of our village communities the underlying principle has been the exercise of a social guardianship to prevent the abuse of drink, of intercourse between the sexes, and even of property, since there are different degrees of irresponsibility, from idiocy and immaturity on the one hand, to particular vice or temptation on the other, and it is the duty of a progressive society to keep within certain limits the tendencies to excess and aberration, and allow the largest amount of freedom consistent with social stability. In our mill towns, where the exercise of guardianship was specially necessary because of the new conditions of employment and housing involved, it has been very unfortunate that the labourers who have become entirely uprooted from the old communal life and regulation are left to exercise their primitive instincts, sometimes unrestricted by any social code or uncared-for by educative agencies. All these factors must come into consideration in all carefully thought out methods of employment and discipline of our labourers if the dehumanised, desocialised and devitalised conditions of our mill towns are to be destroyed by a consciousness, not developed as yet, of a sense of responsibility for the life and welfare of the mill hands, who are, after all, human beings with human hopes and aspirations, and who are now treated, not as artisans, not even as workpeople, but as drudges and chattels.

Urban and Industrial Development under Communism.—Gradually, with an improved and extended education of the masses and co-ordination of urban-industrial with communal interests, the interests of the home, of the arts or of agriculture, the greater problem of adjusting the personal and human values to mechanical conditions, the æsthetic endeavours to industry, will be solved in the new Indian cities—not only the cities which are built up out of standardisable industries—cotton, jute, coal—but those also which have no such specialisation of industry. At this point the rehabilitation of the old Indian guild idea to the industry and the city will be seen to have great significance. The industrial

caste or the guild system has failed because it has not been able to rise above the petty jealousies and local limitations, and to adjust itself to the complex needs of an enlarged civic and national life. Under modern industrial conditions also community life has broken down as the result of the conflict, industrial and ideal, of hostile groups, each possessing a blind control of mechanical power and using it for purposes of aggressive assertion and exploitation. If neither a contentious individualism nor a bureaucratic state control will be the watch-word of the new era, the answer is communalism. It is by means of the communal idea, through the rehabilitation of the industrial castes or guilds, that the workshops can be co-ordinated and conducted on social principles, and not on the ordinary competitive principles of latter-day industrialism. There is need of ethical readjustment in the city and in the workshops. The labourer should be given fair wages; the industrial guild or caste should exercise some control of the conditions and wages of labour, and protect the standard of life of the workers and quality in craftsmanship. The village as a whole or co-ordinated village or communal groups should have some control of the mechanical power and complex tools of production. Individuals as individuals or as incorporated in guilds should have some control of marketing and the middleman's business. There is need of some system by which the labourer shall have access to the land, and access by right and not by grace. There is need also of some other interests in the village, communal or æsthetic, which shall subordinate industry to the higher demands of social well-being and contentment. There is need of a plan by which hundreds of such workshops connected with each separate industry will be drawn together in a huge national organisation for mutual co-operation, each developing its own traditions and satisfying some communal or regional interests, but all brought into some federated order that will enlist all the workers, including the salariat, as partners in the direction and control of industry—an organisation that will prevent exploitation, whether of human values or of social capacities, for the selfish interests of particular groups, and classes,

while at the same time satisfying the requirements of mechanical efficiency in an enlarged sphere of commercial activities.

A Reconstructed Communalism.—The community shall be so revived or reorganised that its industrial or political basis becomes the self-governed craft, the self-governed trade-guild or workshop or the autonomous village community as in our traditional economic order. In the autonomous agrarian, industrial or trade-groups and in their federation and co-ordination to meet the complex and imperative demands of trade and industry in a much larger sphere of national or international life, we will find most of the principles that are vital in the socialism of Robert Owen, in Louis Blanc's plan of labour organisation, in Lassalle's and Morris' plans for the reorganisation of the industrial community or in the more recent syndicalist schemes; while the disadvantages of the syndicalist organisation will be eliminated, in so far as industry and mechanical power will be governed, not in the interests of producers and capitalists, but in those of the community as a whole acting through well-defined functional groups, such as guilds and local assemblies of districts and townships which will safeguard the stability of social well-being. Thus the arts will take their proper place, mechanical power will be mastered and town and village will be rightly related to each other.

The new city will own the land on which it stands and the machinery it works with, and will thus build up an industrial life on a democratic and federal basis for the promotion of culture and arts, and the vital values of life to be enjoyed by all according to deserts and capacities. In the industrial life the arts and crafts, the personal and non-mechanical occupations, as well as the primal pursuits of agriculture, will be revived, and with them the village will be revived, and a fair exchange of life-values and products established between the village and the city. In arts and crafts, in workshops and in city development, communalism stands for the same things: intelligent social control of mechanical power, organisation with a view to social service, creativeness and freedom for the individual, and, instead

of exploitation, free distribution of individual gains and advantages to the community as the social ideal.

The Life Mechanical and the Life Personal.—The task of building our mill towns for the future is difficult, but it is easy as compared with the rebuilding of our great cities with their overcrowding and slums, with their house famines, and squalor, their intemperance and prostitution. It is not merely the problem also of cleansing the existing "tentacular" cities, for new towns are fast rising and developing in India, with all the evils and abuses that are found on a much larger scale in Bombay and Calcutta. In Delhi and Ahmedabad, Howrah and Raneegunj and elsewhere, there are growing up here and there, round various centres constituted by coal-pits or factories, the slums of the future. The task is to come to a carefully thought out plan, so that each of our towns shall grow on a system which will not only prevent the town becoming an industrial horror as was the unfortunate accompaniment of the industrial revolution in England, which it has taken long years to undo but partially: but will make it a real living town with proper arrangements for access to the centre, and suitable provisions for housing expansion, so that the poor shall not be put in one corner and huddled up there, but shall have squares and parks all around them, so that there may be almost a village in the town, protecting at the same time the near rural districts from being injured by careless arrangements.

The task is one for the purpose of dealing with the twin problems of the overcrowded city and the depopulated villages; for the purpose of adapting mechanical appliances and standards to the communal and the human factor; for the purpose of creating a natural environment combining the advantages of town and village, and this not for the well-to-do only, but also for the humble labourer and his toil-worn wife.¹

Modern civilisation has lost its way amidst the development of railways and factories, of markets and finance. It has been essentially a city civilisation that has sought to destroy, by the superior efficiency of its specialisms and

¹ *Town-Planning Powers*, pages 5 and 28.

mechanical methods, all that is natural, vital and healthy in the civilisation of the village. This, in every country, in East and West, is attended with evils which have called forth such activities as garden cities and arts and crafts movements, "inner colonisation," the cry of "back to the land"; which in cities have given birth to the colossal activities of sanitation, social service and all the rest, though with manifestly incomplete remedial effects. Even in the field of education, the return to nature and to mother earth as exhibited in modern developments of kindergarten and of nature studies, excursions and rambles, is a return from the mass methods of a mechanical labour education in the era of steam and iron to the vital and vivifying contact with nature and the freedom from the iron pressure of standards and averages, which are characteristics of rural life and consciousness.

In India, where the people are deeply spiritual and moral as well as agricultural and social, the evils of city life have been worse than in the West, the impact has been more violent and has shaken the foundations of social and moral life. How to bring the village into the city is with modern civilisation the problem of health and efficiency, and with us the problem of life and vitality.

The bases of rural life are the family and the soil, Towns-men have lost touch with the soil, and have usually left their families behind. But they are none the less fundamentally village folk. Let them not be denied artificially the advantages of domesticity, and let them have some contact with the mother earth; and then all the ills of urban life, the poverty, the degradation and the disease, will disappear, and men will have a clean, healthy and natural living. The renewal of contact with the mother earth and the *materfamilias* implies a renewal of life and efficiency.

The Floating, Immigrant Townsfolk.—And in this renewal we ought to begin with the communal outlook and its centres in consonance with the methods of social evolution in the past. The true method of town-planning, that of the ancient social code in India, if not of recent municipal laws, is to begin with the spiritual, the synthetic or the

communal view of life, in short with the ideals and ideas expressed in the communal shrine with its associated river, tank or well, its tree or garden. In sanitation the impulse will most readily come not from the municipal office, but from the old village centres, renewed, cleansed and beautified. Laws of sanitation and city arrangement, not externally imposed, but transformed into social traditions in the communal parks and squares, can spread the new ideas and ideals more easily to homes and compounds ; for the lessons that are in the air of the village centre are more potent than the lessons of the sanitarian or the by-laws of the municipality. How to multiply the religious or communal centres—in short, village centres—within the city, is the main object of modern garden city planning. In the mechanical era of steam and iron, of markets, finance and profit, there has been in our squalid, disorderly and ill-built towns a planless muddle of streets and streetless slums while the by-law planning thought exclusively in terms of straight streets and lanes. Modern town-planning stands for the supply of parks and squares, and the renewal of village life within the cities. Even in Western cities, the townspeople are really still villagers. In India the big cities consist mostly of a floating, immigrant village folk. This is the special difficulty of the Indian town-planner, because people who live temporarily in rented houses cannot be really at home in the cities. The development of communal centres such as represented by the square with its temple and garden, its well and its shade trees, pre-supposes a stability of personal and social relationships which cannot be expected of a shifting population that tends to seek temporary gains and pleasures to the neglect of higher civic duties and responsibilities.

It is true that the townsfolk in India have still persistently preserved village habits and traditions much more than in the European cities, but the renewal of communal centres in the cities will be delayed in proportion as their population is temporary and shifting, and the employment irregular and uncertain. To make employment more regular in the city, as certain as in rural districts, and to plan with the

village life within the city fully in view, are the twin methods in India of diminishing that deterioration of the villager in town, which is a main root cause of the decline and degeneration of cities everywhere ; since this is perhaps the oldest difficulty alike of moralists, and of physicians, of economists and educators generally. An increasingly important leader in the struggle against tuberculosis, and this in England and India alike, Dr. Muthu, has of late specially insisted on this view, that this and kindred diseases are not merely to be explained by this or that germ, any more than are vices or crimes by this or that particular temptation, but that all such evils alike are associated with the decay of social life from its old rural standards, and with the weakening of the individual accordingly in all respects, in physique and in character and in resisting power of both.

Settled Habits of Eastern Population.—In the onward march of civilisation in the past it was in China and India that the nomadic migratory instincts of primitive humanity were supplanted among an agricultural and deeply communal population by the attachment to the settled habitation, soil and the home, the ancestral hearth and temple, and the local and territorial groups, guild, caste and brotherhood to which the population was tied by deep personal and social relationships. The whole economic and civic life of the West has not as yet weaned itself from the original *wander-lust*, which is the root cause of so many social, economic and domestic ills of the West. In India, where we have carefully conserved the old rural standards of a settled social life, the importation of the accidental evils in this respect, as in Calcutta and so many centres of mill labour, is a specially corrupting and corroding agency. In the development of Indian cities of the future, the Indian instinct of attachment to the home and the soil, which has outgrown the original Aryan nomadic proclivities, and has developed into a rich constructive communalism in a deeply humanised and socialised economic life, will play a new part by helping in the solution of the crying problems of unemployment, unattached labour and disintegrated family and social life in a floating and shifting city population.

This moral agency, which will be a corrective of many of the abuses of social life, will be supplemented by a reorganisation of the conditions of labour, employment and industry and the association of mill labour with agricultural and domestic pursuits, as well as decorative cottage industries. All these will protect the family, arts and the social life from disintegration, and the industry from mechanical exploitation. But this will be possible only in an economic system which, while giving ample leisure and scope for higher intellectual and social activities, will no longer be dominated by that geometrical progression of such wants, and that lust for such commodities and satisfactions, as are characterised by a diminution of utilities in proportion to the number of individuals who share them. Communalism seeks to create those disinterested satisfactions which increase instead of diminishing by being shared. The progressive increase of such wants and such satisfactions as increase in proportion as they are shared and socialised, such as the forms of higher moral, intellectual, æsthetic, social and spiritual enjoyment, with its accompanying development of the family and all other social groups, as well as the expansion of all other disinterested forms of civic endeavour and social service, will be the fine flowering and consummate fruition of a truly communalistic civilisation and culture.

Reform must Begin with the City.—But communalistic civilisation is now threatened by a new social *karma*, which is manifesting the dirt, deterioration, the uncleanness and the vice of all our towns ; which has determined the mingled good and evil of Calcutta with its slums many times more extensive as compared with those of Western countries, composed of buildings of about one and a half to two and a half times the height found in Western slums, containing one quarter to one-third of the open space found in the latter, and showing an overcrowding the worst on record, as well as the highest infantile death-rate and the highest recorded mortality for tuberculosis in the world.

Calcutta and Bombay must be cleansed, beautified and built anew ; for, if they set the example to all our provincial towns, we cannot prevent them from working steadily on to

similar deterioration and degradation. The renewal of the village must come in the great metropolitan cities first, before we can attempt to solve the natural problems of the deterioration of all our towns and of their social, domestic and civic activities. Communalism may be renewed in the agricultural villages and provincial towns, in their beautiful civic centres and splendid temples, each at its essential best, but it will have no power in town-planning and society-rebuilding if the cities send down from upwards insidious examples of neglect, selfishness and machine-madness with which industrialism has inevitably been associated in urban development.

Evils of Unregulated Town Growth.—Unfortunately, throughout India in the evolution of the agricultural village into the town, the essentials of the communal rural life, standards and morality are denuded little by little and the squalor, disorder and degradation are slowly coming to be manifest everywhere. The town is developing not merely by closer building, with growing population, or with more frequent changes, from simple earthen buildings to well-burnt brick ones, sometimes of a second story ; there is congestion first in the *bazar* areas and then the overcrowding spreads all round. The open spaces, each with its well or temple, are encroached upon, tanks are filled up and shade trees cut down so that the grounds may bring high rents, and by the side of ruined or dilapidated buildings grow pellmell, and with no reference to the old drainage arrangements, insanitary and inadequate houses for the people. Thus the old social and domestic life of health and cleanliness, of religion and art, gradually but surely disappears—the more quickly round the centres constituted by mills and coal-mines—and little by little, by less sudden changes, in all areas.

Pathology of Town Life.—In the case of a sudden transition from the agricultural and rural economy to a civic industrial system, which has involved a revolution in the system of dietetics, exercises, recreations, personal hygiene and conditions of labour in the open air to a close and crowded environment, the physiological conditions

of metabolism, respiration, nutrition and secretion cannot adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. The agricultural and communal habits of the people, the open-air life and recreations, the field latrine, the tank or river supply of water, the daily ablution, the leisure and rest after the principal meals, domestic crafts and cottage industries, have all been replaced by an industrialism with its disintegrated agriculture and debilitated handicrafts, its malaria, poverty and squabbles in the deserted villages, the economic stress and unsettlement, as well as the drink, degradation and disease in the crowded towns with their increasing opportunities of vice and deterioration. The growth of railways, of cities and towns has been too rapid to admit of a slow and gradual adaptation of the habits of the people. The strenuous life and struggle for living, the unsettlement of status, custom and tradition, the poverty, the mental strain and the degradation, have all emphasised the evils of physical maladjustment and increased the impairment of healthy metabolism and nutrition.

The change from the rural-agricultural to the urban-industrial type is accompanied by an abrupt and violent change in the level and pressure of competition, a revolution from a deeply socialised and ethical communalism to an unregulated contract and individualism ; and it is the failure of both biological and sociological adaptation that explains the prevalence and increase among the middle class of such diseases as dyspepsia, diabetes, pythisis, hysteria and other forms of nervous breakdown like mania and suicide. Among our labouring classes the same causes operate, though in a much less intense form, and tend to produce a nervous depression which, in their case, is unfortunately resulting in organic reaction and excesses, represented by the forms of intemperance, unthrift and dissipation, aggravated by malnutrition and innutrition, which make them succumb easily to epidemics. The liability to disease is also increased by the upsetting of the equilibrium which the peasant's bodily organism has established with the parasites that it meets with in the rural tracts. Living an outdoor life, engaged in agricultural pursuits, he is able to put up with

the considerable degree of parasitic infestation so commonly seen ; malaria and hook-worm infection, for example, is not incompatible with a fair output of agricultural work. Transference to large industrial centres, however, involves a change of environment, which apart from other considerations, cannot but increase liability to disease. A more confined atmosphere, crowded insanitary dwellings, lack of outdoor recreation, are certain to increase a baneful influence and render the factory employees more liable to fresh infections, and to upset the compromise that his body has been able to effect with the parasites that it harbours.

Only a renewal of communalism, a gradual and increasing process of adaptation in the assimilation of rural and urban habits of life, residential arrangements and outdoor living, will restore the physiological balance which will bring sanity in the moral and social life and an immunity from the germs of decay and degeneration of the social composition and constitution.

CHAPTER XXI.

ÆSTHETIC AND RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS IN CIVIC RECONSTRUCTION.

The Indian Pantheon.—In each ward or village unit of the city, inhabited at first by men of the same caste or occupation, but gradually liberalised with the admixture of new castes and races, there will be a tank ; and by the tank, with its shade trees and flower garden, there will be the temple or the communal shrine. In the tropics the morning ablution in the tank refreshes and purifies the soul, and the householder and the ascetic alike, cooled in body and moved by the reflections, morning and evening, spring and autumn, in the broad, placid expanses of water, of the blue skies, the dense rich foliage of sacred trees, and the unending line of bathers, men and women, young and old, come to understand the deep mystery of the pulsating life of changing nature as well as man in his generations. There is woven for him the magic web of cosmic and human emotions in their interplay, which seeks expression in imaginative symbols and mythical forms, corresponding to the changing nature-visions and the ever-recurrent types of man's life and destiny,—the Mother of Ever-renewing Life, individual and associated, and the rhythmic Dance of Death, destructive and yet recreative, Vishnu or Siva, either personified or in his attributes, nature-spirits at the four gates of the temple, and the five cosmic elements, earth, water, fire, air and ether, or Parvati or Durga, the Mother of Nature, Krishna as the Eternal Child, or the Eternal Youth, with his human consort, popular divinities like the snake-gods and goddesses, and other denizens of the forest, lake or river, or, again, deified kings, heroes and saints, Pandyan

kings and Chola emperors, the humble Apparswami with his folded hands, or the youthful Sundaramurti, Nature in all her moods, and love in all its sports, and all other protean forms and symbols of the various types of human and social relationship. Such images and symbols appear and reappear, the abstract in the concrete and the concrete in the abstract ; and so also temples and shrines, which in their multiform and vast courts and quadrangles serve as a sort of pantheon, realising the vision of India of the One-in-the-many and the Many-in-the-one. The introduction to the understanding of these is provided by the illustrations of the Epics, the Puranas and other folklore decorating the lofty aisles and spacious corridors, pillars and ceilings and initiating the beholder's intelligence by degrees. All the strange and beautiful forms and images, with their eloquence of ornamental detail, gradually lead the understanding from lower to higher planes, from the lesser Devas, including those of non-Aryan derivation, to the Three Aspects of Nature, the abstract concepts of Life or Death and Eternity, and to all the imaginative symbols of Purush and Prakriti in their bewildering variety, and ultimately to the central idea that the temple seeks for symbolic utterance—the horizontal expansion allowing thinking space to the brain and the mystic pointing upward satisfying the aspiration of the soul. The holiness of the temple converges into the reliquary proper, the shrine of shrines and the temple's coronet, which the mind reaches in tremulous expectation to find rest and fulfilment ; for it is not seldom that passing through all the wonderful and multiform visions and experiences of the hundred thousand gods and goddesses, forms and images, the mind is at last face to face in the *sanctus sanctorum* with the mystic symbol of the Universal Formlessness, who is in the background of every form and external expression. All this is at its best in South Indian temple cities.

The City in the Temple.—The temple architecture of Southern India, again, preserves more completely than that of other parts of India the fundamental ideas of Indian village and city planning. The different features of village life are reproduced in essentials in temple-planning. The

gopurams of the temple represent the "cattle forts" of the village, the spacious corridors that lead up to the holy shrine are the spacious roads (*rajamargas*) of the city leading up to the royal palace at the four cross-ways, and those which form the *pradakshina path* represent the *mangala vithi*. There is also the *mandapam* of the shrine, where devotees congregate even as citizens congregate in the council-house. Sukra says that the city will have the *sabha* or council-house in the centre, will be provided with wells, tanks and pools, and with four gates in four directions, and have good roads and parks in rows, and well-constructed temples and *serais* for travellers. All these are true also of the internal arrangements of a temple, which is thus the city in miniature. Not merely are there roads and drains, wells and tanks, rest-rooms and discourse-halls in the temple, carefully ordered as in the city, but also markets, with their shops and stalls. Even the public orchards are not wanting, but instead of the trunks of trees we find a thousand or more stone columns, carved or bare, which overpower the understanding of the devotee by their sheer number, even as one lost in a forest comes to know something of the deep mystery of Nature perplexing in her infinite variety. The bathing-tank, which forms so essential a part in Indian social life, is also in the temple, but on a small scale, and its water is especially sacred.

The Communal and Sacred Centres of the Cities.—It is not only in the temple cities, but also in the Indian village and city-planning in general, that tanks are sacred waters and temples have been built around them, and so also in the future with the ever-renewing expression of the Indian spirit, and this will be not idolatry but true reverence. And the *gairik* flag will be hoisted on the trident of the temple, its raised platform will be repaired and the flower garden planted or renewed. The village or city well will be cleansed and cemented, perfected with "the old *chunam* finish, so much nearer the bacteriological standard of cleanliness than can be even the best of bricks." In the public squares the sacred trees associated with the lives of Siva and Krishna, beloved of

gods and revered by men, will all be planted. The fruit-bearing *bacl*, the beautiful *kadam*, the useful *neem*, the shady *bat*, the hoary overspreading *banyan* with its colony of offshoots or the flowering *champak*, *bakul*, *Krishna-churah* will all be there set in beauty and order. Even now the central tree and the platform are quite a common feature of all old cities and villages. The characteristic flora of the region is associated with the temple, the mango tree in the famous temples at Conjeevaram and Mayavaram, the *kala* in Papanasam, and even medicinal plants and fruit trees, which lend curative properties to the waters of sacred tanks. With such material beginnings, there will come to our unclean cities, beauty, health and noble living; old communal ideals will be renewed and rehabilitated, but now enriched with the demands of a larger civic life and consciousness, for in the common square will be assembled in morning and evening not merely men of the same caste, occupation or walk in life, but a whole community taking a legitimate civic pride in the beauty of its square and temple, its library and free-reading room added to them. Classic Hindu and allegoric statuary and large-sized fountains will also be fitting adjuncts. Such squares and temples will be the active and formative centres of public opinion that will regulate communal life. From these will radiate ideas of sanitation, of clean and healthy living now eclipsed in the smoke and dirt of the filthy cities; ideals of popular education and citizenship from the libraries, and committee-rooms, meeting-places and scenes of social gatherings; and when the women of the working folk can come to the temple and the tank in the evening and return with purer water, with uninfected vessel and feet, they will set about their sweeping, indoors and outside as well, more actively, clean the compound and the lane, and perhaps lay out in any vacant compound a small garden of such trees as the *guava* or the *pafya*, or vegetables, and presently, in every home along with the garden, there will be built a *tulsi munch* for evening worship, watered every morning and afternoon. From the communal and sacred centres of the city the squares and the tanks, each with their platform and

temple and shade trees, will radiate the impulse that will uplift every home, and make it an epitome of the city.

The Adornments of the Cities.—But in all the cities on the banks of the mighty rivers the beauty of the squares and of the trees, temples and flights of stairs will be enhanced, for the rivers are sacred. The rivers have made those cities through which they have been flowing sacred places of pilgrimage, and to them have come, in auspicious or inauspicious seasons, throngs of pilgrims to have their sins washed away by an ablution. The steps with the old *chunam* finish will be renewed and repaired, and new flights of marble stairs will be built, and with them shady *aswath* and *bat* trees on the banks will be renewed or planted. And the whole riverside will not be allowed to be used for boats and steamers for trading purposes. For the square and its temple on the riverside will be sacred and inviolable spots, which will be protected. As the bathers come and go, as the pilgrims sit on the courtyard of the temple and the student counts the ingoing and outgoing boats from his cloister in the library, the river which goes on for ever will represent in their eyes the symbol of a common pulsating life of humanity, which is one through generations of time and historic eternity and is moving towards a common destiny, the ocean of Universal Humanity. Freely and spontaneously, the images enshrined in the cosmic consciousness of our race will appear and be renewed in their appearances—classic and allegorical statues be built—the symbols of Eternity, Ranganath, reclining in his cosmic slumber on the seven-hooded Serpent, who bears the burden of the earth from the beginning of time ; of the Eternal Mother, mother Ganga giving peace, contentment and freedom, and becalming the passions and fears of a troubled humanity in her affectionate embrace, pure, soft and cool ; of the Divine Child, the emblem of the Future Humanity, lying on an *ālā*-leaf that floats on the waters of eternity ; and with them will come the images of Learning (Saraswati), Wealth and Prosperity (Lakshmi), and why not also of Ignorance, and “ Illth,” the trinity of the three Devils, Drink, Destitution and Disease, of Chamundi, who fights with

these and all truth's battles, and Ganesha who rewards with success and fulfilment ; or, again, Viswakarma, the deity of arts, crafts and occupations, and Haladhar, the holder of the plough, these and many more. And, in the frescoes of the public hall or library that will also be there, will be depicted the symbols of the stages of organic and social evolution from the fish and the wild boar to man, and in man from the beginnings of civilisation in the reign of justice and righteousness of Sri Ramchandra through the military ambition and iconoclasm of Parasurama to the love and redemptive sacrifice of the Buddha, culminating in the supreme vision of the Superman who will work out the ideal that is shattered by the historic process in life. Such and many other images and representations of symbols and allegories will have their place and importance in the public squares, temples and buildings of future city development, for India is as rich in her religion of Nature in response to the procession of the seasons, as in her religion of Humanity in conformity to the diverse forms of personal and social relationships arising out of the needs and ideals of domestic, social and civic life. It is under the impulse of a religion that is not merely personal but also social and civic, that a real civic consciousness and personality can be developed in our cities, no longer standing apart from the general tenor of our life, religion and morality, but worthy of the best traditions of ancient Mathura, Ujjayini, Pataliputra, Champa or Saptagram, Madura or Srirangam, to name only a few worthy cities of the ancient emperors from which emanated great impulses of religion, literature and civic ideals that had spread even beyond the confines of India.

Historical and Religious Pageantry.—The historic consciousness will also add new national memorials, statues or representations connected with the incidents of the life of a great man or a great national event. Ramchandra's re-entry of Ajodhya, the Abhiseka ceremony at Indraprastha, Asoka in Pataliputra sending out missionaries for his world-conquest, the colonising enterprise from the Gujrat coast, the landing of Vijaya in Ceylon, Babar and his vow of temperance, Akbar and his promotion of learning, the aboli-

tion of infanticide and *sutte*, and all the rest will also be there to evoke civic pride and ardour, and, along with the permanent theatres, why should not periodical *melas* and processions to commemorate these be instituted to rouse the citizens to their new duties and responsibilities?

In historical representations, the East has tried always to build not statues or images but has sought the resuscitation and revival of past experiences of the race or the nation in the human intercourse and relationships of the present by making events of history cyclical and sempiternal as it were with returning Nature and her seasons. This is the reason why events in the past have been linked up with the seasons recurrent in cycles and cyclical in their recurrence, immortalised in Nature's calendar, renewed in *melas*, festivals and pageants, religious and civic, with their appeal to the imagination through dramatisation and symbolisation, and thus helping the people to live over again the thrilling and ecstatic moments and the heroic episodes of a nation's life.

In the institution of memorials in the true spirit of the East, our chief recourse will be not merely to the cold and lifeless representations such as statues and images, which always tend to become abstract and impersonal, but also to the periodical *melas* and festivals with their mimic representation and symbolical significance, emblematic not merely of the cosmic eternity, in the conceptions of which our race has been so rich and prolific, but also of the historic eternity which has excited less feeling and emotion in our race-consciousness, and which now waits for its expression by its new and fresh appeals to our imagination and sentiments.

Car Procession and Water Festival.—In the different squares of the city, under the shade trees and in front of the temple, the citizens periodically will be assembled, with the procession of the seasons, to witness the picturesque representations of the dramatic or effective situations in our nation's history or the biography of its great men; and even as the impulse in sanitation and clean and noble living spreads homeward from these communal centres, so also, as the procession starts from the squares and passes through

the important streets of the city, impulses of religion, beauty and civic ideals spread to every home. And in Madura it was once the custom to carry the procession once a month through one particular street, so that the homes in all the important streets might each have its turn in the year. The religious and car processions are not confined to temple cities only. Even in villages of Southern India the cars are seen every year in procession, and the artistic skill of village craftsmen is tested in decorating the car as well as the vehicles with elaborate ornamentation. And in some villages in every year the god of the temple is carried not merely through the main streets of the village, but even from village to village, carrying with it a growing band of chanting *vaidikas*, singing *bhajanwalas*, and a crowd of heterogeneous peoples of the whole region without any distinctions of caste; fans, water-sheds and refreshments being arranged throughout the way. Men of all castes, including Brahmans, would not be ashamed to make dedicatory offerings on such occasions to the ancient village or sylvan deity, which has Panchama priests and which is the common object of devotion to all—both the castemen and the casteless. Besides ornamental rods and torches, such sacred and beautiful symbols as the swan, the *makara*, the *chakra*, the Vaishnava insignia, the conch, the sun, and the moon are carried in the procession; while the varied vehicles of different gods and goddesses, the parrot for the Mother, the snake and the bull for Siva, the lotus for the Shakti, the peacock for Subramanya and scenes like that of Kailas with Ravana rocking it from the under-world, are also executed with perfect skill. Cars are beneficent in another way. To the car procession we owe not merely the fine lay-out of the main quadrangle of the streets of a temple city, but also a high standard for the other streets of the city as well, even as the floating boat and water festival assures respect to and periodical purifying of the city tanks. (15)

Civic Pilgrimages.—Again, what civic and regional significance has the institution of city pilgrimage, circumambulation of the cities, sacred cities, for instance, Benares, Srirangam, Navadwipa, Madura or Lhassa! Next in merit

to the world pilgrimage, *priit wi pradakshina*, comes the city pilgrimage, *nagara pradakshina*. Thus Benares, the holiest of cities, of 1,500 temples and more, contains within its limits all the most sacred places of Hindu pilgrimage, such as Allahabad, or Kedarnath in the Himalayas or Rameswaram in the extreme south. But the most interesting pilgrimage is that of the Panch-kosi road, which every Hindu inhabitant of Benares is enjoined to undertake once a year. This road describes a rough semi-circle round Benares, the centre being the Manikarnika well, the first place of pilgrimage, and the radius a distance of 5 kos or almost 10 miles. All sins committed within the limits of the city will be expiated if the pilgrim undertakes the journey along the sacred road which limits the area of Benares on the land side, going on bare feet, receiving no gifts from anybody and taking only the barest necessities with him. In the pilgrimage he will circumambulate all that is holy in the holiest of cities, all that is charming in green cornfields, venerable avenues and spacious tanks of villages. The three Sri-rangams on the Cauvery, as well as Benares on the Ganges, owe their holiness to the circumstance that the river in each case takes a great sweep round so that its current, while it passes the temple cities, flows in a northerly direction or towards Kailas, where Vishnu or Siva dwells; Benares is, indeed, holiest because here the beautiful river front is like the crescent moon of Siva's forehead, and the whole area bounded by Baruna on the north and Asi on the south faces the rising sun. And so also in Ahmedabad, once in every three years during the intercalary month, *adhiks* or *puru-shottamas*, Hindu women, on some holidays, walk bare-footed round the city, bathing and worshipping at seventeen places, most of them on the left bank of the Sabarmati. In making this round, a pilgrim starts early in the morning for Dada Harir's well and going by the north, west, south and east, comes home through the same gate by which he left. On coming into the city, he visits some temples before going home. To do all this takes a full day, from ten to twelve hours. Significant also is the pilgrimage in the most beautiful and romantic land of Brajabhumi, which includes the cities

of Brindavan and Mathura. In imitation of the movements of the sun and moon and the planets, there has arisen in different cultures the custom of circumambulation round some sacred object as a centre, and this has been associated with magic virtues and potencies.

Indian Symbolic Observance.—But culture history has never stopped at the origins of institutions in magic, but has gone on to an elaboration of rituals and symbols fraught with imaginative appeal and psychological significance out of the raw matter of tribal magic and tribal cults. In India the process of symbolisation is universal, and has been carried to a higher plane by being lifted up to spiritual and transcendental heights. Here this institution of city circumambulation has received further accretion from the car processions associated with the Buddhist, Jaina and Vaishnava cults which, returning by a circuit to the starting point in the course of a stated period, show the character of a periodic cycle, as in the planetary movements of the heavens. The institution has tended to lapse into a mechanical and soulless formalism. But for the constructive ideals and ends of the new civics of to-day, it is desirable to revive a beautiful institution which appeals to the topographical sense and awakens the historic imagination by kindling the sacred associations of localised romance and cherished folklore in the minds of the citizens and city pilgrims. And, as we have seen, the sites and configuration of these sacred cities have been so planned in conformity to the innate æsthetic instinct of the Indian people, that an education in nature-sensibility is at the same time secured to the pilgrim by giving him a scenic succession of panoramic views and long-stretched vistas of glen and valley, of majestic river-reaches and smiling greens, overarched by the blue vault of an Indian sky.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE IDEALS AND METHODS OF INDIAN TOWN-PLANNING.

THE synthetic view of life will be represented and renewed by the communal squares, gardens and temples of the city in its religious festivals and holy circumambulations, in each *muhalla* or *baham* with its essential characteristic expression, this alike in social and civic ideas and ideals as well as in administration and government.

Encouragement of Civic Personality in Town-Planning.—In the East and West modern industrialism has been destroying the village and communal traditions of the population. In the Western city, and in its counterpart the industrial city, the distribution of the population has corresponded closely to the demarcation of industrial class, a certain district being the rich man's district or the poor man's district, a West End or an East End, a Bloomsbury or a Clapham, with their cleavages and corresponding accentuation of class antagonisms. This has emphasised the development of exclusive group interests and ideals instead of encouraging the unity and harmony of the entire civic life and consciousness. Modern town-planning should demand that in the structure and constitution of the city the aim sought should be the promotion of a civic personality and not of a class consciousness. In Indian village and city-planning the divisions into detached wards with the main shrine and park in the centre, would aim at a segregation and autonomy of each of the different natural divisions, while they would all be rescued from their isolation and exclusiveness by means of the necessary intercourse with the larger civic and religious ideals that flow from the

central institution—the main temple with the tree and park, or the guest-house and council-hall which are the active and formative centres of public opinion in India. The council-tree of the village elders and the shrine of the tutelary deity of the community are at the meeting of the cross-roads of the village. The Brahman street extends usually from the east to the west, following the course of the sun, while the eastern, southern and western gates of the village plan conform to the Brahmanical concept of the Three Aspects, based upon the three positions of the sun at dawn, noon and dusk, the times of daily prayer. The principal castes live in each of the three quarters of the village, where are assigned the principal Aryan gods dedicated to the Three Aspects; while the lower castes or communities are given sites within or without the village boundaries in order of their social precedence, and so also are their half-Aryanised and half-Dravidian gods. Lastly, the purely non-Aryan communities, as well as their gods, are quartered in a sequestered hamlet of their own. The doctrine of the One-in-the-many and the Many-in-the-one accorded a place for an infinite number of popular gods and goddesses in the Hindu Pantheon, and comprehended them in the fundamental unity of the God-head. In the same way the principle of communalism in the social organisation developed a social stratification which afforded scope for the segregation of diverse functional needs and interests, working within the limits of a common social and civic life of the community as a whole, this alike in caste-grouping as well as in the grouping of villages and their separate autonomous wards.

Types of the Indian Village.—Indian villages conform as a rule to a more or less uniform type, consisting of blocks of houses or wards (Panjab), *paras* (Bengal), *cheris* (S. India), or *deshams* (Malabar) as they are differently called. The houses are seldom scattered, but are usually built in fairly regular streets. Each of these wards is inhabited by different castes and divided from one another by streets and lanes, which usually run from east to west or north to south. The houses cluster as far as possible near the

waterside with every facility at hand for bathing and drinking and for washing clothes. In Southern India the houses of the Brahmans stand in one block, called the *agraharam*, arranged as a rule in double rows facing one another across the street. Unlike the Vishnu temple, which should be on the west looking down the street, the temple of Siva should be a little distance away and is usually found in the north-east corner of the village. The cremation ground, of which Siva is the lord, is close by. The artisans—for instance, the potters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths and the goldsmiths—are very particular about residing together. Brahmans, Muhammadans and some of the larger Sudra castes usually live in separate streets or quarters. Indeed, if any particular caste is found in large numbers, it has its own distinctive quarter. Pariahs and Chucklers live in hamlets of their own (*paracheris*), consisting, in the river valley, of a mound of dry land—seldom situated to the west of the *agraharam*—surrounded by the wet fields in which they labour. The residence of the Paraiyans and Chakkilis in outlying hamlets apart from the parent village has many sanitary and other advantages, besides enabling them to live closer to the fields. The general plan of the South Indian villages is uniform. In Bombay the huts of the depressed classes are close to the village gates and often outside them, and near them are the monumental stones, an image of Hanuman or a small Devi and the village grain-yard. Many villages usually retain traces of fortifications. In many South Indian villages the stone-posts which formerly flanked gateways of the village may still be seen. In Central India and the Deccan, forts and ramparts are more common than is usually the case. In South India remains of fortifications are rare and never embrace the whole village site.

Site of the Village.—The village is always built beside a river, a tank or large embanked pond, shaded by noble trees, among which is the temple of the local god. On one side of the tank and in front of the village is an open space where the cattle assemble to be watered in the morning and evening, and here is usually a deep chambered well,

with a long flight of stone steps leading to the water. In the south there are usually three wells, one for the Brahmans, one for Sudras and Mussalmans, and the third for polluting castes. In the open green, usually to be found in the centre of the village where the villagers congregate on festival occasions, and adjoining it, are the principal village temples. Near about there is nearly always a building, half club and half court-house, which is kept at the common expense and is used as a place for social gathering or as a court for the hearing of disputes. In the larger villages there are often several of them in different wards, However much the village may be disintegrated, the division into detached wards and the common guest-house or temple in the middle, where at nightfall the village elders assemble to smoke the *hukka* and talk over village topics, still remain,—indelible marks which communalism has stamped upon the structure and constitution of the Indian village. •

The Glory of Anahilapura.—And so also in cities with their divisions into *mahallas*, *paras*, each nearly always with its particular wells, *dharmshalas* and temples both in their prosperity and in their deterioration. In their prosperity, for instance, as we read in the *Kumaraṇḍavali Charitra* of Jinamandava (A.D. 1436) which thus describes the glories of Anahilavada-pattana, or Pattan, in Northern Gujrat as in the middle of the twelfth century :—

“Anahilapura was 12 kos (or 18 miles) in circuit within which were many temples and colleges ; eighty-four *chawks* or squares ; eighty-four *bazars* or market-places ; with mints for gold and silver coinage. Each class has its separate *mahalla* or quarter as had each description of merchandise, i.e., *hattidants* or elephants’ tusks, silk, purples, diamonds, pearls, etc., etc., each had its separate *chawk*. There was one *bazar* for *sarrafs* or money-changers ; one for perfumes and unguents ; one for physicians ; one for artisans ; one for goldsmiths ; one for silversmiths ; there were distinct *mahallas* for navigators, for bards and for genealogists. The eighteen *varnas* or castes inhabited the city. All were happy together. The palace groaned with a multitude of separate

buildings, for the armoury, for elephants, horses and chariots, for the public accountants and officers of state. Each kind of goods had its separate *mandav* or mart, where the duties of export, import and sale were collected : as for spices, fruits, drugs, camphor, metals and everything costly of home or foreign growth. It is a place of universal commerce ! If you ask for water they give you milk. There are many Jaina temples, and on the banks of a lake is a shrine to Sahasralinga Mahadeva. The population delights to saunter amidst the groves of *champaka*, *punaj*, *tal* (palmyra), *jambu* (rose apple), *chandan* (sandal), *mango*, etc., with variegated *vela* or creepers and fountains whose waters are *amrita*. Here discussions (*vada*) take place on the Vedas, carrying instructions to the listener. There are plenty of *bohras* (traders) and in Virgam there are also many. There is no want of *birterans* (*yatis* or Jaina priests) or of merchants, true to their word and skilled in commerce ; and many schools for the *vyakarna* (grammar). Anahilawada is a *nara-samudra*, sea of men. If you can measure the waters of the ocean, then may you attempt to count the number of souls. The army is numerous, nor is there any lack of bell-bearing elephants."

Communal Grouping.—In some cities, when, in their decay, walls had ceased to shelter from robbers and brigands, houses have been grouped together for mutual watch and protection. Ahmedabad, for instance, has its numerous house groups, *pol*s, literally gates. *Pol*s are almost entirely inhabited by Hindus, in some cases by a settlement of families belonging to one caste, and in others by families of several of the higher castes, Brahmans, Vantias, Suttrars and Kunbis. Each *pol* has generally its own watchman and its own sanitary arrangements. The Ahmedabad talent for combining is shown in the management of the *pol* affairs. The house property in the *pol* is to some extent held in common. Formerly no man could sell or mortgage a house to an outsider without first offering it to the people of the *pol*. On wedding and other great family occasions, each householder is expected to feast the whole *pol*, and in some cases all the men of the *pol*, though not of the same caste,

are expected to attend any funeral that may take place. If the *pol* rules are slighted, the offender is fined, and in former times, till he paid, he was not allowed to light a lamp in his house or to give a feast. The money gathered from gifts, fines and the percentage on house-property sales forms a common fund managed by the leaders, *seths*, of the *pol*. This is spent on repairs to the *pol* gate, the *pol* privies or the *pol* well. The policeman, or gate-keeper, is not paid out of the fund. He earns his living by begging from the people of the *pol* and works as a labourer for them.

City Wards.—The house groups, quarters or *mahallas* are indeed characteristic of all Indian cities. The city of Agra, for instance, is divided into so many as 212 *mahallas*, the names of which are derived either from the caste of the inhabitants or from some well-known building or from a prominent resident of former days. In the cities of Bombay Presidency each of these wards is often a separate village with its own headman, accountant, servants and husbandman, whose lands are outside of the city walls. There are *bags* or gardens, temples and mosques interspersed in the central wards and the suburbs or *puras*. The cloth, the grain and fruit, and the meat markets are separate, and are held in open spaces shaded with rows of *necm*, *kadamba* and *banyan* trees. The *shahaganj* or general market is often in the centre of the city, as in Ahmednagar. Gardens are still sometimes the property of a ward, and are maintained by voluntary subscriptions of its residents. In many cities the old divisions are now used either for police or municipal purposes, and thus the new administrative circles or wards correspond with the old ones, though the public institutions in each of them tend to cease to be the objects of their charity.

Business and Industrial Centres.—For industrial and business purposes there should be definite geographical location, so that the same forms of business or industry may grow up round certain convenient centres determined by natural advantages of site, traditional occupation of the people, etc. Here segregation is useful and conducive to economic efficiency and progress. But all this has to be

tempered in the interests of social well-being by the provision of a common social and civic life as lived in homes and hamlets. For this each ward or section of a large village or city should form a miniature, as it were, of the entire community by containing within itself the various elements or ingredients of the various functional classes and interests who go to compose the community as a whole. And this polymorphous structure of the city or village should have central symbols of the communal life, such as the common council-hall and guest-house, the temple, the garden or park or the riverside which should give a local habitation and a name to the essential vital functions of the municipal and religious life. Thus the geographical units themselves, being similar to their composite structure and functional character, have natural affinities to one another, and make intimate union round a common central institution possible in a fuller and a more concrete manner than would otherwise be the case. On the other hand, where the units are diverse and heterogeneous in character as in the segregation of conflicting classes in the industrial city of the West or of divided castes in the separate *therus*, *patis*, *bahams* and *mahallas* of Indian village and city life in its deteriorations, the common institution tends to become a centre of discord and class antagonism instead of being a centre of concord and amity.

Communalistic Town-Planning.—The communalism of the East, carried to its true goal and attaining its full significance, implies such a development in Indian village and town planning. By the disintegration of functional classes and castes in Indian rural and urban life we are too often witnessing the spectacle of a complete break-up of the old community life, as expressed in a local shrine or temple, in a *chawadi* or common garden or sacred tank, in which the communal instinct expressed itself through *punchayet* meetings and religious or social gatherings, processions and festivals. While there has been gain to the extent that the rigid geographical separation of functional classes has been mitigated, there is on the other hand the vital loss resulting from a weakening of the social

cohesiveness and the gradual disappearance of the communal institutions. In the Indian village and city development in the future, what is wanted is a wise policy of reconstruction which will free communalism from the impediments and abuses that it has suffered so long as the result of a rigid functional segregation and carry it to its true and legitimate development by building communes within communes, groups within groups, so that each structural element should be, not mutually exclusive and repellent, like diverse atoms, but be held together internally and externally by the same bond of union and cohesiveness as the principle of communalism desiderates in the organisation of society.

Institutions to be Revived.—In the structure and constitution of the whole village and city, and of its different wards or hamlets, what is most essential is the expansion and renewal of the village and city *punchayet* in which all the different functional classes and castes would be represented irrespectively of their form of labour, of the temple festival and procession from the main centre of the village or city demanding the co-operation of the diverse local centres, of the popular plays, amusements and recreations of the masses—the whole being revived under the impulse of a religion, not particularistic and disruptive, but in which the worship of Narayan is realised in service of humanity. And so also in the diverse local centres and groupings, the same connecting links will be maintained by similar institutions and symbols of common life. In Bombay the Mahars and in Southern India the Panchamas play an important part in all village religious rites. Attached to every temple is nearly always the shrine of the Mahadev, who is regularly worshipped by villagers of all classes, including Brahmans, at the same time as the god of the chief temple. In the South Indian villages the Panchamas receive presents and courtesies of various kinds at all caste festivals and on occasions of domestic importance, while in their worship of Ayanar, Kali or Sudalaimadan, and in the dance in honour of Sastha, the Brahmans gladly join, even as the Panchama priests gradually give up the bloody sacrifices of pigs, buffaloes, sheep, goats and fowls

on such occasions. But these signs of amity and concord are unfortunately too few and far between. These have now to be extended in every direction of social life, so that the centric tendencies may overcome the centrifugal forces of separatism and segregation which have been so rampant, especially in Southern India, on account of the radical ethnic and cultural disparity among the stocks and races of the country. Not merely in the sphere of religion, but in every department of social life, the connecting links have to be renewed and strengthened to combat the forces of segregation ; and then alone will communalism rescue the principle of social stratification from becoming the means of social disruption and work it out as a legitimate means of social service. Again, it is only under such circumstances that the antagonisms fostered by the identification of a rigid functional group, caste or class or trade-union with a local territorial unit will be avoided, though this scheme leaves full room for the association of individuals or traders of the same functional group or class in the form of trade-unions and labour-parliaments of the future for the promotion of functional needs and interests.

Natural Grouping.—In each ward or *mahalla* of the renewed city the grouping should follow natural lines, instead of fostering class, occupational or functional distinctions which tend to crystallise themselves into separate antagonistic interests. Each ward, managing its own internal affairs of sanitation, arranging for healthy and adequate housing of the people and all the rest, taking pride in its own municipal institutions, parks and buildings—an autonomous ward showing the continuity of administration and procedure of rural self-government, but with its activities expanded and enlarged in the satisfaction of the needs of a larger civic life and consciousness—it is only under these conditions that there can be no break between the traditions of rural life and standards and those of urban life. Ideals of domestic and civic life will preserve a continuity, the lack of which has led to so much deterioration and degradation, both of the family and of the city. The family will be protected when it frees itself

from the incubus of morbid passion and insane ambition of an artificial city life. The city will not be a congeries of antagonistic classes or groups, but will represent the harmonious co-operation of autonomous sections in promoting the civic welfare, each the epitome of the entire civic life and consciousness. The city will be a congeries of villages, but the villages will have larger and completer ends and ideals in view than those of agricultural and rural standards and ideals, that is true civilisation or "civicisation," which should be promoted by a city in its structure and constitution according to the best modern town-planning methods. Representing in its structure the integration of communal centres, as villages and *mahallas* within the city imply, the city will deliberately and consciously seek the realisation of social ends and ideals, which rural life in its isolation and lack of resources could not set before itself. The aggregation of the population and the heterogeneity of its composition and constitution, the sympathetic resonance in the multitude and the synthetic reorganisation of the means and ends of well-being, scientific, artistic or social, the enormous accumulation of resources, material and cultural, and the intensification of feeling as well as capacity in social initiatives—it is these which make possible the higher and more complex forms of civic endeavour which are beyond the scope of rural life. A national museum or a historic memorial, a national art or a proselytising religion, a popular literature or a political movement, a social revolution or a mechanical invention, can originate only in the powerful impulse from the feeling and capacity of the multitude, though perhaps their first germs have been discovered amidst the faith, simplicity and naturalism of rural life and consciousness.

The City as Link.—In the evolution of group-mind, and group-consciousness, in other words, in the stages of the development of the individual personality, the city in its composition and constitution represents a necessary intermediate grouping between the village and the world at large. To be a citizen of the world one has to become a citizen of "no mean city," directly taking a part in all civic

endeavours. The solution of the vexed question of international antagonisms can be materially helped if in a more or less cosmopolitan city the concrete embodiment of international amity is found not merely in the stock exchange, clearing house or other forms of commercial exploitation, but likewise in the multiform institutions and activities which will be bound to arise out of the needs of a mutual understanding of the life-values and ideals of different races. The stagnation and exclusiveness of rural life, on the one hand, and the aridity and artificiality, the self-seeking and emptiness of urban life on the other, can only be corrected by the city development in the future which combines in its structure and constitution the decentralisation and communalism of village life and organisation as well as the aggregation and concentration of work and of people that a highly specialised urban civilisation involves.

Communalism to Redeem the City.—Communalism is thus found to be a comprehensive principle applicable to city reorganisation and development in the future and to the rescue of the city from the ills and abuses that have been the result of a mechanical organisation which in a mechanical age of steam and iron, of railways and factories, of aggregation and concentration, has ignored the needs of vital efficiency and culture in every field of life, in industry, in family, in society, in demographic distribution or urban development. Gradually in the evolution of cities from the crude, tribal, exclusive and national stages to a more catholic and cosmopolitan type, the civic institutions and activities which have been the outcome of the principle of mechanical assertion and aggressive exploitation of the surrounding villages, the country, or the world at large, will give place to new institutions and endeavours giving ample scope to the development, on the one hand, of the rural type instead of using it for its own ends and purposes; and, on the other, of forms of international, humanitarian service in and through the free distribution of the accumulated experiences and moral acquisitions of each people and zone of culture to other peoples and zones, for which new civic institutions must grow in the interests of inter-

national concord. In the end a new commerce of the spirit will grow in the cities and marts of the future greater than the commerce of to-day, which is but a war in the guise of peace—a war between the natural and vital standards of the life personal as it should be, in the home, the field, the workshop and the civic or village council, and the artificial demands of the life mechanical, as it is in unnatural aggregations of a hungry, sordid humanity which ignores the nobler impulses of free creation and free distribution—a war which in the international field is in its instinct of aggressive exploitation but an extension and survival of the primitive tribal cannibalism destined to give place to an amity and co-operation of diverse cultures and ethnic values, even as in domestic and civic life the individual personality of the old rural and tribal civilisation is to develop into the corporate communal personality in the cities and social groupings of the future.

D. ART UNDER COMMUNALISM.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ENVIRONMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN POPULAR ART.

Factory Conditions Destructive to Art.—Art is the expression of the joy of life and of labour. What industrial conditions are favourable to the cultivation and development of popular art is the question that naturally forces itself upon the attention of economists in this commercial age. A certain amount of leisure and freedom is essential for culture or development of art. The Western industrial conditions have brought about so much economic pressure upon the individual that it has destroyed the very conditions under which art can prosper.

In production the natural and inevitable result of the factory system is that by degrading labour it stifles art. Machino-facture, with its production of things of uniform pattern and shape, represents conditions absolutely opposed to the development of art. Hand-work largely allows the expression of ideals. The artisan, whilst he swings the hammer, works on the wood, or casts the shuttle, feels the joy of a new creation and the happiness of labour. His hand-work is beautiful and happy. On the other hand, the factory labourer is but a cog in a complicated machinery of production which is incomprehensible to him. In the din and roar every nerve is blunted. He works without aim and without pleasure ; and he does not enjoy the peace of mind of the Indian artisan who is sure of his employment and wages in the Indian communal organisation of industry. There is no thought, no hope, no pleasure in work in the

factory. The work cannot, therefore, but be ugly. Men are dehumanised. There are no ideals to express. Thus work, as a matter of fact, does not express ideals, i.e., becomes degraded and inartistic.

Indian Artisans.—In the Indian economic organisation, the artisans are given a fixed remuneration. They are given plots of land in lieu of their work. They work at things in which they especially excel. This object is achieved by influences of the artisans' environment which evokes and trains any special aptitudes for arts and crafts. The artisans thus have leisure, freedom, hope and happiness, and they cannot but express these in their handiwork. Their handiwork rises to the level of a conscious artistic activity, full of joy in the expression of happy and noble ideas and ideals. The artisans rise to become artists. Such conditions are true of a normal, healthy and vigorous national life, when the national genius and temper express themselves in ever-renewed types, forms and art-constructions. But when, as has been unfortunately the case in India in recent times, decadence sets in and exotic designs and patterns overpower the indigenous art productions and ideals, there is a danger of lapsing into blind conventionalism, ugly imitation and mechanical drudgery.

Views as to Art Traditions.—In this connection we ought to examine two divergent and mistaken views as regards the relation of art opportunities in India to the organisation of hereditary, specialised castes. One school, which is now exploded, contends that the dexterity of Indian craftsmen is an excellence which is transmitted through generations by the institution of the hereditary caste. But this, as we now know, is a biological error. Aptitudes acquired in occupations or avocations are not inherited. But some of the Indian artisans' stocks and strains possess congenital and natural aptitudes in particular directions which have been developed by the operation of natural and social "selection" acting under favourable conditions. Others contend that the caste or the social environment exercises no influence whatever in the selection and conservation of manual skill and dexterity. They, therefore,

solely depend on industrial and art training given in schools or workshops, in the hope that any who have aptitudes will be drawn to the vocation of the artisan or artist and profit by the training. The error here lies in forgetting that aptitudes and excellences in arts and crafts do not from the very beginning manifest themselves in well-defined and full-formed shapes and measures, but exist as inchoate trends, tendencies and capacities, which have to be seized at the right moment in plastic infancy, and developed and directed to right channels of artistic expression and activity. It is for the latter function that social groups are essential to create suitable environments, and this operation of the social environment in conserving and developing traditions of arts and cultures must not be ignored in the name of a supposed heredity, or of the interests of an individualistic school education and training which takes no account of the group-mind and its formative influences.

Elasticity Necessary to Art.—At the same time the social groupings should not be rigid and inelastic, but be fluid and fluent enough to admit of free and unarrested adaptation of aptitudes to work, talents to opportunities, and tastes to vocations. The development of arts and crafts in India has suffered from this want of elasticity and fluidity. The social groupings have been transformed into rigid water-tight compartments, which have on the one hand led to the divorce of craftsmanship from acquired knowledge and reflective intelligence, and on the other checked the spontaneous variation of individuals. The industrial castes in India ought to give place to social groups which will be less rigid and allow of what may be called a sliding scale of worth, the essence of which is the finding of its own natural place and level by every kind and grade of excellence. The vital aim is to produce workers and artisans who will rise to the level of a self-conscious reflective intelligence finding joy in the constructive activity of their vocations and occupations. For the West the development of arts and handicrafts requires the formation of intermediate social groups which will create a favourable atmosphere and tradition suited to give definite form and

shape to inchoate artistic trends and capacities, and thus effectively lay the foundations for industrial and art education on which exclusively the West depends more and more since the substitution of competition and contract for the guild and apprenticeship with the industrial revolution. Communalism, which stands for the development of multiple social groups, will thus be an effective guarantee of popular art and craftsmanship when these form the natural social environment for the conservation and development of art traditions. The group-limits will be incessantly changing by way of expansion as well as upward rise and differentiation in adaptation to new industrial, artistic and intellectual needs, and the individuals will find a natural place in the groups according to their aptitudes and tastes on their free self-determination.

Injustice Unfavourable to Art.—In the West the injustice in distribution also reacts on the feelings of the producers. The contrast between waste and want, conspicuous idleness and unmitigated slavish toil, tends to be unfavourable to art. In India the social harmony, which it is the object of communalism to attain in the distributive process, could under more favourable conditions of craftsmen's life and activity give that contentment which is the condition of popular art achievement. The artisan could know that he gets his due, and know, what is more, that others do not get what is not due to them. The justice in the social scheme, which might thus be attained under a properly regulated communalism, would maintain and develop a love of justice which is the mainstay of a stable and worthy popular art.

A certain degree of the restraint of wants is an essential condition of the cultivation of popular art. If wants are not many there will not be great injustice in distribution. The contrast between superfluity and want, which is the source of a sense of injustice and humiliation to the majority in society, will be avoided. Nothing is more enervating than luxury. Luxury is a curse to those who enjoy and to those who do not enjoy. Less luxury and more brotherhood means more self-respect, more happiness and more edu-

cation for all. That is good for art. Again, there cannot be any worthy popular art without a due restraint of the pleasures of the senses. Licence and reckless folly are always incompatible with popular art.

Commercialism Favours Quantity.—Everywhere commercialism means a preference of the quantity to the quality of work. Manufacture has standardised consumption and tends to make things in large numbers without any regard to quality. And if commercialism thinks of quality it thinks of commodities only as fitted to sell. Where wants are not various but uniform and individuality of consumption is not developed, commercialism necessarily sacrifices quality in the interest of quantity and proposes to satisfy such of the utilities and values as are in demand.

Communalism the Best Environment for Art.—Besides, the costs of production of art are such as are often not guaranteed on merely commercial principles of the adjustment of supply to demand, because the majority of consumers cannot afford to pay for a great variety or individuality of consumption. Such costs ought to be ensured to the producers by communal endowment and contributions, and not be left to the chances and fluctuations of the market determined by individualistic competition. Even in the interests of individual variations in consumption, which in part determine also the individual and his worth, consumption should be developed on social principles which, in a scheme of endowment and communal support, by giving ample leisure and opportunities to the artisans, form an effective guarantee of the maintenance and development of art traditions.

Perhaps the best environment for an encouragement of popular art is afforded in India by the scheme of communalism. And this communalistic art is inspired by other ideals than those of the individualistic art with the creations of which we have been familiar in the West.

Influences Friendly and Adverse to Art.—In the region of the fine arts and literature, Western art is individual-aristocratic, and aspires after the perfection of form and technique, rather than the expression of such beautiful

and noble ideals as from their very nature spring from the community as a whole rather than a particular class. Particularism will be incompatible with the art of the future. Class-consciousness leads to a divorce between art and social religion, and emphasises the discordant and separatist tendencies of individual creative activity. The artist pursues the doctrine of art for art's sake. In industry, the artist is a dilettante, and the artisan who ekes out an uncertain means of livelihood and daily drifts from unemployment to chronic want is an inartistic hand. The contrast in the West between the art-school or art-gallery and the slum or factory is too evident.

While class conflict and class feeling are enemies of art, communalism supplies its best inspiration. On the other hand, selfishness and luxury of the rich and the joyless acceptance of means of life and labour by the poor are unfavourable to art. Simplicity of life and cheerful freedom everywhere in the palace, workshop and the cottage are the most favourable conditions of its development.

Indian Socialisation of Luxuries.—The characteristic feature of Indian consumption is the socialisation of luxuries. India would never encourage private luxuries. The rich landlord, capitalist or merchant builds a temple in the village, digs a drinking well or a tank where good drinking water is scarce, or builds an embankment where it is necessary. The public works instituted out of communal funds by the village commonwealth offer a greater surplus of satisfaction than private expenditure. The range of the participants in the expenditure is greater and there is greater surplus of utility. Examples of public luxuries like these are very common throughout India.

The Village Gate and the Village Guest-house.—Remarkable examples of public luxuries stimulating art production, and of which every villager is justly proud, are the village gate and the guest-house, which are characteristic of the greater part of India. The guest-house, which is also the common room of the village, is a very comfortable place of shelter in which travellers rest and the people meet of an evening. Every traveller passing through the village is

given food and tobacco free. This is a source of no small expense to villages on the main roads. In a great many villages the gate is a most commodious structure of solid masonry, which would cost in many cases for a single *patti* as much as Rs.1,000; but everything, including labour, is generally subscribed, wood for beams, cow-dung for burning lime, etc., and the only actual expenditure is on the pay of masons. It is on these gates principally that the architectural genius of the villages shows itself. There is sometimes very great elaboration in these gates, and the different *pattis* will vie with one another in architectural display. The style of gate is very often a safe test of the wealth and craftsmanship of a village. But there are few that have not towards the outside an arch of masonry work covered with some sort of ornamental design. Village temples and shrines, *harisabhas* and *dharmshalas*, as well as guest-houses and village-gates, are common village achievements that owe their inspiration to the popular art-consciousness.

Socialised Art and its Uses.—Along with the socialistic enjoyment of luxuries both public and private, we find in the traditional humanities and social cults of the Indian people a socialisation of art, and of the literary and philosophical creations of the race. What a popular art and literature can do for a people is best seen in the folk-mind and folk-ideals of India, permeated as these are with an idealistic philosophy of life, and in the wide diffusion of a humane culture among the Indian masses which distinguishes them from the proletariat in the West. This has been brought about partly by the Indian habit of sharing the communal recreations and enjoyments. Modern America is now learning the lesson of throwing open the private art-gallery of its millionaire to the public. But the rich people of India have always thrown open to the public their houses on festive occasions, when all the villagers can enjoy the *jatras* and *sankirtanas*, pageants and morality plays, and they have always encouraged village playwrights and musicians. And the villagers can also listen to the recitations of stories from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahab-*

harata and other inspiring moral tales when the *kathak* or story-teller comes to the landlord's house, or they can enjoy the wit and quick repartee in the extempore compositions of *kabigan* or *mooshiara*, an intellectual treat which amuses without degrading the mind. It has been through these and many similar channels that the wisdom of the intellectuals has been diffused among the race. And, if people disbelieve in this system of oral instruction, the work of Bishop Gruntwig in Denmark will convince them of its value. If the householder does not stir out of his cottage, the *bairagi* with his *khanjani* will come and sing before the doorway about the mutability of things, about life's temporary caravanserai and the goal of rest after life's travail; and the itinerant *mirasi* or *dhadi* will recite the tales of Hir and Ranjha, Mirza and Sahiban, Sassi and Panun to the accompaniment of a *sarangi* and awaken his higher life and relieve the toils of a day. In India art and literature are not luxuries of the few, but are carried to the door even of the very poor. Thus the greatest economic and ethical good is accomplished when the enjoyment is as general as possible. Both as regards the variety of common consumption goods and the socialistic enjoyment of those not accessible to all we have realised a high economic and ethical ideal of consumption.

Indian Nature-Instinct.—And not merely does the socialising instinct give a characteristic turn to Indian art enjoyment, but there is an equally distinctive note—the instinct for nature in the Indian folk-mind which in its workings gives an artistic stamp and impress to the modes of communal and household living characterising the Indian people.

It is this Indian nature-instinct that does not allow pleasant trees to be cut down indiscriminately for the money that a few square yards of open space will bring, but in parks and temples with their beautiful shade trees brings some of the advantages of the garden city to the commonalty as a part of religious duty and a free expression of the national art-consciousness; or again, does not allow the sun to be hidden from the homes and haunts of men, but in the court-

yards and *chatwars* (quadrangles), which are a part of house architecture throughout the tropical East, enables the women-folk and children to enjoy a sort of open-air life in their inner abodes and domestic sanctum. It is not merely in domestic architecture, but, as we shall presently see, in every field of decorative art, that the naturalism of the Indian mind has found an exuberant and vigorous expression.

Art in Utility.—Hitherto we have sought to bring out the constructive principles of the Indian socio-economic organisation in relation to art, its production and its consumption. We shall now briefly note some of the salient features of Indian popular art in its various forms and creations so far as they are actualities in the life of people to-day—in household furniture and decoration, in personal ornament as well as in the festive and auspicious occasions of daily life. The brass utensils and clay pots that the Indian villager uses are artistic commodities, and are not so dispiriting as the sight of a tin mug or an enamelled dish of the Western household. The children have their clay toys, figures of a lion, horses, men and women. And when they go to the fair they induce their mother to purchase an image of a god or a goddess, which amply testifies to the development of popular ceramic art in the service of religion. Even the everyday wearing apparel, the *phulkari* and bodice, richly embroidered, the die-stamped clothes in endless varieties of colour, are quite artistic things.

In spite of poverty the peasant's wife wears a coloured *chadar*, or it may be a *phulkari*, i.e., worked with silk flowers of *silari*, another form of silk work. The *phulkari* piece is ornamented with bits of looking-glass, which flash in the sun. She wears a bodice, *kanchli* or *angi*, often richly embroidered. In the cold weather she wears a woollen petticoat and woollen shawl, the shawl being often of a dull red colour and embroidered in wool in a pretty pattern (*lohiya*). Some of them are very tastefully ornamented and quite works of art worthy of being displayed in a European drawing-room. The everyday clothes are always made from the village-made cloth, which, though rougher, is much stronger than English. The furniture of the

cottages is simple, and consists of a few beds, as many low chairs (called *peri*) as there are women, spinning wheels (*charki*), cotton-gins (*bolna*) and a *chakki* or handmill for grinding corn. There are wooden boxes and also round ones of leather called *patiar*.

Most of the furniture and utensils are made in the village, and are cheap and simple, but the metal vessels are imported from distant industrial centres and are comparatively expensive.

It is the decline of the original individuality of taste characteristic of the Indian artist, even though working within the limits of a traditional convention, which has led to the decadence of village handicrafts and artistic industries. The invasion of the cheap products of the factory has contributed to swamp what little of indigenous art lived in the homes of the people or the cottages of craftsmen. People who are satisfied with cheap ugly mugs of uniform size and shape, and enamelled dishes of the same pattern, for all uses in household work, must establish factories to produce them in large quantities to meet universal demand. Machine-production threatens to kill the personality of the labourer—as the consumer has already repressed his personality by limiting his tastes.

Women's Ornaments a Criterion of Artistic Feeling.

—But in more than one sphere in the home life of the people the native Indian feeling for decorative art has survived in strength.

It is, however, in the ornaments worn by the village women that the variety of indigenous tastes and artistic feeling are best displayed. Women of all classes are fond of ornaments, and, when they cannot get them of gold and silver, wear bangles or armlets of coarse glass. Brass, shell, lac and glass ornaments show their endless variety of tasteful patterns and designs, while the delicacy and minuteness of the workmanship in gold and silver ornaments, representing and deriving their long-sounding names from plants and animals, testify to the remarkable development of popular artistic feeling.

The varieties of ornaments are indeed innumerable, and

they differ according to districts and sub-divisions. The commoner articles are the nosering, earrings, necklace, necklaces of rupees, bracelets, armlets, and bangles. Spare capital is ordinarily invested in the purchase of ornaments for one's wife, since the money can always be realised on occasion. The women of the village represent not only its savings bank, but also its art exhibition. Not merely the wealth but popular art can be fairly gauged by seeing the ornaments on the persons of the women and children of the village.

In its excesses, however, the appeal to vanity and the displays of social rank and precedence, are as great hindrances to the simplicity and disinterestedness of native art as the fashions and conventions of society have proved in the West.

Common Themes of Decorative Art.—Even in the cottage of the peasant and the artisan the creations of the same national art instinct are perennially present. There is the ambient where the householder has to pass the greater part of his life. There are a good many things which there please the eyes and ennoble the heart. The ears of corn are tied in beautiful designs and hung on the roof. There are the carved pillars, doorways, architraves and windows. On the walls there are a lion, a tiger, an elephant, a fish, a peacock, a tree, a lotus, a sentinel with a bayonet and in recent days the European with the hat are painted, which amuse everybody. In another cottage, there are paintings, which relate a well-known episode. There may be Ramchandra, his consort and his brother, or again Hanuman in the *asoka* forest spying Sita. There may be the fight between Ramchandra and Ravana, or the triumphant entry of Rama into Ajodhya. In a third cottage are the divine cowherd, with his milkmaid and the cows, bedecked with a collar of bells, gazing at the flute-player, spell-bound. There is the Krishna of Kurukshetra driving the war-chariot, or Karna giving away all his belongings, or the well-known figure of Bhima in his various ventures. There is Arjuna piercing the eye of the fish from the shadow of the waters, or the venerable Bhishma stricken down with arrows but not leaving the body before

he performs his last duties as the counsellor of kings. It is not merely in a temple but in the cottage of an ordinary peasant that drawings like these roughly or skilfully executed are met with.

In the places of family worship (*chandimandaps*), in the buildings of the rich and in temples, there is a richer variety and a finer execution of art. In terra-cotta reliefs the mythogonic stages of evolution or cosmic history as represented by the ten avatars, the scenes of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*, the varied assortment of popular folk-lore and tradition are treated as themes of painting or sculpture. Sometimes scenes of agriculture and sports, processions of horses and elephants, hunting, men plying trade in boats, playing musical instruments, tapping date-palms, carrying burdens of bamboos on their shoulders, smoking *hukkas*, marrying, feasting, gambling, worshipping, the mother with the child, the woman balancing a pitcher of water on her head, a dancing-girl, a joy-drive, a boat-race—the whole panorama of Indian life is represented by a decorative popular art.

Common Motifs in Indian Popular Art.—In fact if mythology and folk-lore, or the stories of the epics, the icons of the *Puranas* or the popular beast fables, have supplied themes for decorative art, another characteristic source and origin of the art of the people points to a dim age-long art-tradition which has ruled over a vast cultural zone in the Asiatic Continent, east, middle and west, and which has created a language of symbols and a wealth of conventional motifs. And these symbols and conventional motifs are to be found not merely in monumental art, but also in the paraphernalia of popular art in forms of carven wood or moulded clay, in brass images, or in low reliefs, in wall decorations or embroidered fabrics, or again, in metal-work for household use, which are among the everyday familiar surroundings of the people. Among such common motifs in Indian art, high or low, are the eye in the forehead for a higher vision, the nimbus for a divine or royal personage, mythical animals as the *makara*, the *nara-sinha* or the *gaja-sinha*, or mythical

birds as the *kinmar*, the *gurulu-pakshaya* and the *bherunda-pakshaya* ; or, again, animals and birds partly mythical with natural prototypes, as the goose, the peacock, the serpent, the tortoise, the tiger, the lion, the bull, the elephant ; or, finally, plants such as the mythical climbing vine of the Himalayas, of which the flower has the appearance of a woman, the jessamine, the mango, the palm, the *parijata*, the white water-lily, the *bo* and the honeysuckle ; while there are also characteristic ideal curves and figures, such as the *svastika*, the *stupa*, the holy mountain, the tree, the *chawk* and the trident. And, indeed, Indian animals, such as the elephant, the deer and the monkey, are better represented in India than in any drawings and sculptures known in any other part of the world ; so, too, are some characteristic Indian birds and trees. The serpent also is a common symbol, the representative of the guardian deity of fields and hamlets, the protector of altars and shrines. Characteristic also are the Indian phallic symbols, the *lingam* and the *yoni*, emblematic of the divinity of eternal love in the poem of generation, the union of the God and the mother-goddess in the causation and conception of life. The god's *vahana* or vehicle, the *nandi* or the bull, is the symbol of divine virility and has his seat behind the *yoni*, while the snake that protects the *lingam* is also the symbol of sex. There is also the Indian *gorgon*, a common motif in South India which decorates the tapering roofs of temples and many a pedestal on the roadside, figurating the terrors of error in the pursuit of the true and the beautiful. Gods and goddesses, mythical and symbolical creations, heroes, tall and strong as palm-trees, virgins, lithe and slender as bamboo-stems, carrying lamps on their palms, with drooping eyes, shrinking from a too inquisitive gaze, and with limbs modelled as if they would tremble under the pressure of a caressing hand—animals, birds and trees—the whole panorama of Indian life is written with an admirable precision and elegance in bas-relief, ornament and statuary in the sweetly harmonious setting of the history, the ethics, the philosophy and the religion of the people. But not merely in the solemnities and sacraments of public worship or public festivals.

Indian Symbolic Art.—Many of the forms of Indian flora and fauna have been utilised by popular art for expressing an auspicious or festive meaning in the details of the daily life of the household. The *kumbha* (water-vase) decorated with vermillion and sandal, *bael* and cocoanut fruits and mango leaves, over which are hung the lithe branches of the plantain, the basketful of rice, *chowri*-clad and dedicated to Lakshmi, the household goddess of prosperity; the women's auspicious drawings in the courtyard and the door-front with rice paste and turmeric, of the palm of the hand, the fish or the lotus; the clay models of fruits, birds and fishes, or the paper toys and the dolls, which are the handiwork of girls and young women—all these testify to an eye for form and colour, and a dower of graceful manipulation as among the inherited instincts and traditions of the Indian peoples. And not only associated with the scenes of the people's daily life, but also fraught with deeper symbolical meanings of human life and destiny. The banyan and the *aswatha* which are not individual trees but a generation of trees looking over man in his generations by field and hamlet where the village elders and the village *punchayet* assemble under their shade, the deodar and the pines, the evergreens of the everlasting hills, and the crowned palms on the seashore that catch the first and last light of the orient or the setting sun, meet us at every turn as abiding influences giving a distinctive note of the life of nature to the folk creations of Indian art. But not man in his generations alone or in his kaleidoscopic changes of habitat and clime. The Indian's mystical sense has seen or created a wealth of mystic meaning which his imagination or fancy has woven round the ordinary sights and sounds of his everyday life. Beasts, birds and plants have all been pressed into the service of this mystic symbolism. The white lotus that springs at his feet, or floats in the tank of his morning ablution, is clad with the dazzling purity of the goddess of wisdom, or to his inner vision becomes the figured emblem of cosmic creation. And this lotus appears and reappears in varied guises and contexts in carving and moulding, in woven fabrics and chased

work, in temple architecture as well as in decorative sculpture. The crimson *asoka* red with passion, the delight and toy of lovers, which in fable and fiction has drawn round it much of the superstition and the romance of sex, has become the symbol of the vicissitudes of human love, while the *kadamba* that flowers to the dance of the starred peacock and the rumbling of the dark-blue rain-cloud is the symbol of the divine lover fluting to his human consort. So also the mythical pair of birds, the *chakravak* and the *chakravaki* calling to each other across the wide river and sand-banks (*churs*), uniting only to separate and separating only to unite, fitly stand for the cycle of love's destiny, of life and death, of union and separation.

Such are some of the perennial symbols which form the language of Indian art-convention, and without an intimate understanding of this language no one can read the story of popular art as it has moulded the folk-mind amongst the Indian masses.

Movement of Indian Art-Consciousness.—A bird's-eye view of the movement of the art-consciousness in the Indian mind will fitly close this description and delineation of the forms and outlines of Indian popular art. In the earliest manifestations of Indian art-consciousness, whether in hymnology or folk-lore, in painting or sculpture, in decorative or plastic art, may be discerned the sense of the panoramic variety and exuberance of nature's life, realistically conceived. This naturalism appeared first in the mythopœic fancy of the Vedic hymns. In Buddhist architecture, sculpture and painting, this mythopœic naturalism gave place to a realistic naturalism, which, on the one hand, could express the very breath of nature's sentient life in its reproduction of plant and animal forms; and, on the other, present a synoptic view of man's destiny and fortunes in the great Wheel of Life. But this realistic naturalism in its turn was soon superimposed upon by a human interpretation and valuation of nature. A deeper personal intimacy with nature in her woodland or mountain scenery, in forest glades and sequestered caves, in broad river sweeps and palm-clad seashores, made her an object

of communion and loving intercourse. Even in the classic literature in an age when the surging passions and interests of city life and courts began to preponderate, nature stood as an abiding presence, a revelation of quietude and tranquil repose in the midst of the whirl and unrest of life or the ceaseless bewildering flux of things. An all-encompassing rest in the bosom of nature and the mother-earth served as the background to the drama of human life and life's tale of suffering and sorrow presented as an endless repetition in individual lives and destinies of the primal sacrifice of God in creation. And this constitutes the distinctive mark of Indian popular drama and epic, as compared with the tragedies of ancient Greece as well as the modern European epos.

In fact, the pictorial and scriptural representations of man in Indian art treat him more as a part of the landscape than the landscape as a part of man ; for both are reconciled with each other and encompassed in the cosmic harmony or concord, which is the fundamental Indian note ; or again, man is treated as super-nature, as in the images of a Siva or a Buddha in his conquest of flesh, his liberation from the blind instincts of life and death. That Indian classical art, before it was overcome by the wild imagery and symbolism of the *Puranas*, should have maintained a serene balance or equipoise of man and nature, of soul and sense, must be a surprising phenomenon to the student of Western classical art as well as of the Western renaissance and romanticism in which the central theme that abides behind every particular theme is man's revolt against a hostile nature, his titanic defiance against the thunders of heaven, or his assertion of the supreme vital values of surging passions and mutable moods of man's life and destiny.

But the mere resources of a reconciliation drawn from a life in nature failed to overcome the conflict between the old naturalism and the new humanism as modes of artistic expression. Accordingly the latter-day Indian artist draws his inspiration from the supra-sensual life.

In the polymorphous symbolism of the *Puranas* and the *Tantras*, and the entire field of decorative painting and

sculpture inspired by them, Indian art rises to a transcendental criticism and interpretation of man and nature alike, in which the exuberant forms and scenes of the older art are employed with new symbolic meanings and values. Now becomes the objective of Indian art the perception of the one-in-the-many and the many-in-the-one, of the primal Energy, prolific and frolicsome in her infinite creations, but so portrayed as to direct the mind's eye to the unchanging and all-engulfing Unity; or, again, the objective is the vision of the Infinite sporting with the Finite, the Pursuit of the Beloved as the one theme of nature's life or man's destiny throughout the cycles and æons of time.

Humanistic Soul of Indian Art.—Such is the stratification, historical as well as psychological, of Indian art as it exists to-day; a naturalistic realism, in exuberant mythopœic fancy or in the reproduction of the panoramic view of life, and a sombre humanism, a tragic sense of man's destiny aglow with a passion for renunciation and sacrifice, all wound up in a symbolism of mystery, this universe body of the Lord, or these changing apparitions of the Primal Mother set over against a background of the Universal Formlessness. Such is the hidden soul of Indian popular art which has always sought and even to-day seeks in these diverse modes an expression of the mass life of man and nature for the masses of the people, and is thus in its communal origin and inspiration a harbinger of the art of the future. For in art, as in religion, the great world-building idea to-day, the spirit that moves on the face of the waters, is a new-born sense of a cosmic humanism which will place man in the heart of the universe and the heart of the universe in man, so that to his purified and renovated vision things in their proper sequence and setting will reveal themselves in the mass, in the aggregate and in the type; and not merely in their uniqueness and separation, the quest of the reigning individualistic art that retains no element more satisfying, more disinterested, or more creative than an exquisite sense of the luxurious.

E. THE RELIGION OF COMMUNALISM.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VALUE OF VITAL RELIGION.

Communalism Inspired by Religion.—Communalism in the East finds its inspiration in religion. Respect for human personality, respect for man as man, as representing an inner infinity, which is a religious rather than a philosophical concept, supports the framework of the communal system. Hindu social grouping has its bases in the profound depths of Hindu religious experience.

The Eternal Man.—Narayan is the God of the Hindus. Narayan takes all humanity into Himself. He is the symbol of Universal Humanity. Narayan is also Nara. God is not only a man but MAN ; man in arts and sciences, man in society, man in industry. God enters into all life. The Absolute has a mediate existence, called man, society, political and industrial organisation, the family, the bond of sexual love. In this mediate existence, circumscribed by time and space, the Absolute throws off its uniqueness. God becomes many. He assumes various forms. He becomes men and animals, stocks and stones. But, all the same, He is the goal and He Himself points out that goal as a living force that directs everybody and everything. This activity of His is Narayani. Narayani in the plant is the activity which protects the seed ; in the animal and the man, the effort which propagates and sustains the species. As such She is the mother of the living kingdom. And in the non-living She is also the mother asleep ; her sleep is the mediation of her own self. She is the evolutionary process in the lower plant and animal world. She is history

in the human kingdom. She is natural selection. As much She is the eternal agency of destruction, and then She is both terrible and beneficent in her attitude to creation. The steps of her death-dance in the ecstasy of creation are but the birth and death of species of plants and animals, and the rise and fall of states and civilisations.

The Divine Mother.—God is Society. The Goddess in her varied moods is only the different forms of social activity. She is obedience to law and equity (*sraddha*). She is political existence. She is popular sovereignty and the social will. She is the production and consumption of wealth (*Lakshmi*). She is industrial activity. She is the eternal productive principle, as *Sakambhari*, the sustainer of the world by means of herbs. She is æsthetic activity (*shova*) and represents all the fine arts and embellishments that make life beautiful and enjoyable (*kanti*). She is the sex-impulse. She is family existence. She is all the three Vedas, all the sciences and arts, all the classes, professions and means of livelihood (*britti*), all group-activities (*jati*). She is memory (*smriti*), memory of her divinity, and the historical consciousness binding individuals and social groups by a national ideal. She is contentment (*tushti*), contentment in individual life and in social activity. She is the principle unifying all intellectual and social activity like the thread of a garland. As **ACTIVITY** (*shakti*) she evokes activity, and as **MOTHER** she evokes sacrifice—the sacrifice of the plant for the seed, of the animal for the offspring, of the man for the child and humanity, of the classes for society and of societies for generations yet unborn. (We meet Bergson here on a new path.) It is the sacrifice that the Divine Mother is most pleased with, for it is through sacrifice that the individual is sure to reach her. The Hindu's common prayer is this: "Mother, awake, manifest thyself, for I am inert as stock and stone."

Humanistic Religion of the Hindu.—Society and group, as mediate forms of the Absolute, evoke the sacrifice of the individual. Service to society and subordination to the group are steps in the realisation of the Absolute, of

the Divine Mother in man. Thus it is that the individual learns to subordinate his egoism for his family good, family and communal interests for public welfare, and when public welfare conflicts with the good of mankind he does not scruple to sacrifice the former. This philosophy is in the consciousness of every religious Hindu. He is born in it. And from him the people get their guidance and inspiration. Whatever may be the outward forms of worship, whether they worship Rama or Narayan, Mahadev, or Durga, or Bhumia, the God of the Homestead, the groundwork of religion and of philosophy is the same. The peasant may worship many deities, but he knows full well that there is one God, whom he calls Narayan, Parameshwara or Thakurji.

Temples and Gods of the Village.—The villages have temples dedicated to Rama, Krishna or the other incarnations of Narayan. They have their Shivalayas also. The Brahmans are there to worship, and they get the *brahmottar* or *brahmodaya* (S. India), rent-free land for this service. The villagers make their offerings occasionally to feed Brahmans on whom they depend for counsel in grief or misfortune.

But there are certain other deities, too, which the people delight to honour. There is the Surja Devata, who is always invoked early in the morning when the peasant first steps out of the doorway: "Keep me in the faith, O Lord the Sun"; and when he bathes he always offers water in prayer to him. There is also the River Goddess, the Ganga Mai, the Jumna Ji and so on, who frees the people from all sins. There is Dhatri Mata or Mother Earth. Every morning he invokes her in rising from his bed. Doing obeisance to the earth, he says: "Mother earth, preserve me in contentment." When he milks the cow, he lets fall the first stream in her honour, and when he takes medicine, he sprinkles a little in respect to her. At the beginning of ploughing and sowing he makes obeisance and invokes her. There is Ganesha. When the grain is heaped on the threshing floor, a small image representing Ganesha is made of cow-dung or rice-paste, with a culm of grass on the top, and is installed in the fields of Southern India. There is also the Kshetrapal.

He is Krishna brought home to the villager as the protector of the fields, and is dear especially to the peasant and the cowherd, dearer than Siva or Vishnu. Kshetrapal protects the cattle from epidemics, and the crops from insects and pests. A similar God is Bhumia, the God of the Homestead. The peasant's wife brings a lamp every evening to a shrine made for him. She offers the first milk of a cow or buffalo to him. She cleans the place and sometimes affixes with cow-dung five culms of grass. In Mysore each village has its *devastan* or *gudie*, as the smaller temple is usually called, usually dedicated to Bassawa, Virabhadra or Hanuman; and there is always one to Kali or Durga, commonly called Ammavaru, the mother. These *gudies* are built with a vestibule or portico, in which the village headmen meet to discuss public business and travellers are allowed to lodge. The temple of Mari-amman has walls, but no roof except the sky. She is worshipped by the agriculturists when they have reaped the harvest from the fields. The other deities worshipped generally are Munisvara, Akkagaru (the sisters), who are regarded as spirits of the wood, and Gangamma (water goddess).

In the South Indian villages the worship of Siva and Parvati and their sons, Vignesvara and Subramanya, is universal. But by far the most important deity in the villages is Ayanar or Sastha (as he is more usually called in the extreme south). By his pedigree he has been raised by Brahmanism to the level of the great gods and called Hariharaputtra, his father being Siva and his mother Vishnu, who once took the form of a goddess. He is the god who brings rain in its season, and it is appropriate, therefore, to find his temple situated, as a rule, on the *bund* of a bank or beside a channel. He is the general custodian of the village, and it is for the use of him and his followers in their task of riding round the fields at night to drive out disease, blight and evil spirits that the pottery horses, dogs and elephants which face his shrine are provided by his grateful devotees. Then there are the female deities or Ammans, whose worship is an interesting blend of Brahmanical and Dravidian ritual. In most villages there

are many temples, sometimes one to each caste, guild or ward, dedicated to Kali-amman under her various names and designations ; but one Amman is usually regarded as pre-eminently the village guardian. There is scarcely a village without the shrine of Mari-amman, who is especially associated with smallpox and kindred contagious diseases. But there are few cures she cannot effect and few boons she cannot confer. It is as *grama-devatas*, general guardians of the villages, that these deities play their most important part. Standing on the limits of the village and facing almost invariably the north, whence alone all calamities come, they are the first objects of attention with all castes when any crisis occurs or is feared in the village or in the family, an epidemic breaks out, or a festival is performed.

The Sacred Cow and Holy Brahman.—Then there are the cow and the Brahman, regarded as sacred throughout the land. The cow is especially sacred, and if the peasants become fanatics on a rare occasion, it is to defend the cow. The Brahman is the priest for everyday life, and, if he is a learned man, for marriage and other celebrations as well. Whatever observance the villagers practise, the Brahman plays the leading part. When the land has to be ploughed, the Brahman says whether the land is asleep or not. When the well has to be dug, he finds out a lucky day and ties a string to the wooden framework when it is put into the ground. When the crop is to be divided, the Brahman first takes his share. In parts of Southern India it is a general custom that, before measuring the grain, a small quantity is set apart for charity or the needs of the temple. This is styled *devara kolaga*, God's measure, and is distributed to a *pujari* or a Brahman, or to a Dasayya or Jangamayya, or to beggars generally. The Mussalmans also get the mosque attendant to come and bless the heap of grain on the threshing floor before it is divided, and he is given a regularly recognised share for doing so ; this saves the grain from being carried off by evil spirits.

From early in the morning, when the peasant awakes and murmurs "Ram, Ram," or invokes Narayan, Siva or any other gods or goddesses, till he sleeps, every portion of

his life is dominated by the controlling power of a living religion. And when there is a death in the house, when the village is visited with a murrain among cattle or any epidemic, whom shall he seek for protection except Kali or Mari-amman? The whole village assembles to perform a propitiatory sacrifice to the goddess. Fowls, sheep and goats are slaughtered, and rice on which the blood has been sprinkled, the entrails and some of the blood, are carried at night in procession round the boundary of the village. In prosperity or adversity the idol is the only guide and solace.

Practical Character of Popular Religion.—But religion is not the business only of the Brahman or the hereditary priest. That it is a living thing, ever acting on the popular consciousness, is shown by the numerous sects that arise every now and then, the founders of which come from the non-Brahman folk. Here, for example, are the precepts of a religious teacher of a village for the guidance of his disciples.

For thirty days after childbirth and five days after the woman's monthly cycle a woman must not cook food. Bathe in the morning. Commit not adultery. Be content. Be abstemious and pure. Examine your drinking-water, your speech and your fuel. Hold the law of compassion to your heart. Keep duty present to your mind as the Teacher bade. Stealth, evil speech and lies tend to increase, so avoid them altogether. Shun opium, tobacco, *bhang* and blue clothing. Fly far from spirits and flesh. See that your goats are kept alive (not sold to Mussalmans who kill them for food). Keep a fast on the day before the new moon. Do not cut green trees. Sacrifice with fire. Say prayers. Be engaged in contemplation and you will reach heaven.

Social Benefits of Religious Observance.—Thus we see that popular religion helps a great deal in the ordering of social life. This is forgotten in general studies of village cults and myths, which view the subject either from the angle of primitive history or of evaluation of the cults in a hierarchy of religious systems. A few interesting instances of village religious observances which contribute to the preservation of social well-being and order may be adduced here.

The effects towards social harmony are quite obvious, when, for instance, the village god Ayanar in South India is held to have the privilege and power of settling disputes, besides guarding the village and delivering those afflicted by sickness. One of the two contending parties draws up, in due legal form, a statement of his case—"The petition of X of the village of Y, against A of the village of B, hereby sheweth : Whereas," etc., and affixes it to the trident of the Ayanar's shrine. If his petition is true and he has justice on his side, the other party, it is believed, will soon (unless he speedily comes to terms) find himself, his relatives or his property afflicted with some evil. A settlement is accordingly usually made without loss of time before the god and is ratified by offerings at his shrine. False witnesses are also believed to be punished when they take the name of a particular village god usually invoked on such occasions.

Such an observance having its origin in fetishistic and animistic cults has come to be employed as an instrument of social beneficence and has no less value as a symbol in the evolution of legal and juristic procedure as the administration of oaths, ordeals, etc., among the auxiliaries of more organised systems of jurisprudence.

Among Hindus in Bihar to plant a mango tree is considered a religious act productive of spiritual benefit. The approach of the mango grove to maturity is celebrated even by the humblest cultivator with all the show of a marriage ceremony. When the trees are sufficiently grown to give promise of fruit, the villagers repair to a place of worship in the grove, where all the elaborate ceremonies of a marriage are duly performed. The grove is then dedicated to Narayan, who is regarded as the bridegroom, and will not be violated by anybody. Similar ceremonies of marriage are performed in the case of newly excavated wells and tanks, which are saved thereby from pollution. An interesting feature in the marriage of tanks is the flight of the Brahman who is induced to drink some milk, and is then pelted with clods of earth. He personates the *asuras*, or enemies of the god, and the wooden pole with a trident at its top fixed in the centre of the tank is an emblem

of the weapon with which Mahadev fought and overthrew them.

Religious Ceremonies Distinguished from Black Magic.—Such observances are to be distinguished from the rites of black magic by three marks :

1. That they use no force of *mantrams* or *jantrams* to compel the powers, but are frankly supplicatory, and, therefore, presuppose relations of trustful dependence and amity as opposed to ill-will, malice and enmity between man and the spirits invoked ;

2. That they are not anti-social in their uses but beneficent, being conducive to the general good of the village, or it may be to the individual well-being of the worshipper ;

3. That the observances do not imply secret or self-seeking methods, but are communal, holding together the village folk in a common effort against a common danger or in communal rejoicings and festivals.

Social Instincts in Religion.—Humanity has, indeed, invented through the ages symbols in all their gradations of crudity and fineness under the impulse of social needs and instincts. From the simplest and crudest to the most complex elaborate apparatus of social or socio-legal fictions and symbols thus invented, the one persistent criterion in every age and every region is the adaptation of the means to the end relatively to the state of culture. This is the truth of values as opposed to the truth of facts, and it would be futile in any social analysis or survey to ride the high horse of *à priori* concepts and categories, be they magic or *mana* or esoteric doctrine, and trample on the rich and exuberant growth of myth and folk-lore, of symbology or hagiolatry in the imaginative constructions of man for the satisfaction of natural and social instincts.

Popular religion has not only contributed to the ordering of the daily life and ministration of human and social wants, but has also interpreted the living touch with nature in forms of ceremonial and ritualistic worship as well as in mythic creations of gods and goddesses.

Group Gods and Communal Worship.—Each individual group or community has sought to represent itself as

being continuous with the larger forces of the cosmos. Thus, each community has sought to make itself concrete by giving expression to all the natural needs, religious, æsthetic and intellectual, over and above the strictly economic. Each guild has its own gods and goddesses, its particular form or mode of æsthetic enjoyment, and each its socio-economic tradition. And in its particular festivals all these diverse natural needs meet in the confluent outpouring of the communal soul.

The artisans and traders have their special deities along with the gods and goddesses whom they worship in common with the masses of the people. There are Kamakshi and Kanyaka for the artisans and traders of Southern India. Kanyaka presides over the charities of the merchants of the Telugu country. No noble act is ever done except as the gift of this goddess. She is, indeed, the patron deity presiding over national prosperity in the Telugu land, and all *annadana samajams*, dispensaries, *choultris*, schools and many charitable associations now run in the name of the glorious Kanyaka-Parameswara. There is Visvakarma, in North India, who is invoked to increase the wealth of the traders or the skill of craftsmen. There is Gandheswari, worshipped by the *banyas*, who trade in spices. On these occasions the artisans besmear their tools with sandal and worship them. The practice of worshipping the instruments of one's calling is universal in India. The traders worship their books, their balance and weights. Even a gleaner or a reaper in Southern India is often seen to bow before her sickle or hoe before she begins her work. The artisans observe some days on which they do not work. The potters, for example, worship Siva on the *chaki* for the whole of Baisakh, and do not work. They also do not work on the wheel on the fortnight of the Shakti-puja.

In a multiplicity of guild fasts and festivals, as well as of caste gods and goddesses, we find the streaming out of the life-impulse in diverse channels of concrete and particular satisfaction.

Again, not infrequently do we find that different communities meet on a higher plane of solidarity as participants

in the worship of a common god or as brothers in a common seasonal festival.

Materialism of Western Industrial Organisations.

—A striking contrast with this picture reveals itself when we peep into the socio-religious life of Western industrial organisations and communities. There each group grounds itself on mere economic function as if it stood in no need of establishing itself in the larger life of nature and cosmos. How more tolerable would have been the life of the trade-union, bent exclusively on the adjustment of wages and the hours of labour, if its constituent groups could meet in a communion of souls in a common festival ministering at once to the religious and the æsthetic life ! How much stronger and more enduring would have been the bond of fellowship which at present is a superimposition of a mere economic struggle ! On the same platform, again, may we find a meeting-ground of labour and capital which at present stand poles asunder. If the whole concrete and creative personality cannot express itself, in the routine of daily life, unfulfilled instincts and partial interests will stand out rebellious, full of potentialities for social disruption and individual separatism. It is only when the group interests orient themselves in the cosmos, only when life as a whole, of individuals and of group, finds its channel of fulfilment, that greater solidarity of function and purpose supervenes and the forces of discord and rebellion are set at rest. In the scheme of Indian group life we read the inklings of an intuitive attempt to combine the expression of diverse interests. Thus in the industrial guilds, as well as in the agricultural community, which is by far the most important and extensive group, we find the ebb and flow of life with the rhythmic changes of nature.

The Seasonal Festivals of the Peasant.—There is a round of religious ceremonies and festivals, fasts and feasts throughout the year in response to the changing seasons and the phases of the moon, as well as the conjunctions of planetary bodies. In the tropical heat of the Baisakh month (April-May), when the sun is in the meridian, water-sheds (*saraïs*, *pandals*) are erected on the roads to supply drinks and sweets

to the toil-worn travellers. Not merely men but even beasts and plants are religiously provided with ample supplies of water. And so also are the gods. The festival of the bathing Vishnu is significant in the hottest time of the year. The water pot is hung over the *pīpal* and the *banyan* trees, and the *tulasi* plant over the heads of Siva and Shalgram (Vishnu). Water in earthen jars with delicious fruits are also offered to the spirits of the departed ancestors on the day of the vernal equinox. The anxiety with which the Indian peasant watches for the monsoon at this time of the year is exhibited in the magical rites by which he seeks to appeal to the god for rain, and in the songs the women sing and the prayers the *maulvis* offer for the rain-coming. As the rains come and the rivers begin to rise and become brown and clayey, it is time for the worship of Ganga, characteristically borne by the *makara*, and fruits and flowers are offered to the river goddess. Similar in character is the festival in the south on the 18th day of the month of Adi, when the Cauvery flood is supposed to reach its highest, an event which all peasants should respect and an occasion when ablutions in the Cauvery, particularly at places where it takes a circuitous course or where it is joined by its tributaries, are specially efficacious. In the rainy season the peasants rejoice ; and, in keeping with the soul of nature and man, when the rain-clouds and lightning fill the skies and the earth with darkness and vague terror, and give rise to anxious expectancy and longings for the Beloved, there takes place the beautiful Jhulan festival—the reunion of the divine cowherd with his milkmaid on the swinging branches of the flowering *kadamba* tree. During Sravana (July-August), when snakes become numerous, the snake goddess is worshipped in every house, in order to secure immunity from snake bite. Then follows the Nandotsava or the festival of the shepherds, when grass is green and pasture abundant. Krishna, the shepherd and the flute-player, is carried with the herds of cattle to the open space in front of the waving corn-fields, where they all dance and rejoice—the shepherds and their bedecked cattle with Krishna in the centre. In Western India, at the end of the monsoon, when the sea has ceased to

be stormy and boisterous, the first voyages for the coming year are undertaken with the offering of cocoanuts to the sea, the worship of boats and frigates and other solemnities to ensure prosperous ventures.

Towards the end of Bhadra (August and September), the agriculturists have to observe the fast of Ananta-brata in gratitude for the ingathering of the *bhadoi* harvest and in the hope of further prosperity. During the first fortnight of Aswin, since it is on the rain of this period that a successful harvest of the *aghani* and moisture for the *rabi* depend, they devote much time to religious offerings and oblations to their deceased ancestors. This is followed by Navratra, or nine nights of abstinence from worldly enjoyments, and the worship of the goddess Durga on the seventh, eighth and ninth day of the light half of the moon, about the time of the autumnal equinox. To the peasant this great festival is doubtless the autumn Saturnalia and celebrates the return of fertility. The goddess is worshipped with the pomp of a prosperous agricultural season, and her bright yellow colour is the autumn hue which has tinged the golden grain. In the south, the ninth day of the Dasahra is celebrated by the Brahmans as Saraswati-puja, and by others as Ayudha-puja, every one making obeisance to the instruments of his peculiar vocation, from pens and books to ploughs and hoes.

During the Kartik (October-November), when the paddy harvest is taking ear, many devotional performances are observed, especially by the women and unmarried girls. Towards the end of this month the longest of all fasts is observed by the people, especially females in some parts of the country, in a spirit of devotion born of the mental suspense pending the arrival of the rice crop to maturity. At this time of the year is celebrated the lamp festival, in which in October lamps are lighted, floating lamps are set off down rivers, and in Bengal the autumnal festival of Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity, and the moonlit night-wake in her honour, as well as the festival of the dance of Krishna and Radha and the milkmaids (Rasajatra) in the beautiful moonlit night of autumn, fully show that man here shares the

renovation and resurrection of his associate, nature. In the same month, in the dead midnight of the new moon, there takes place the worship of Kali or Shyama, enshrouded in the mystery of darkness and dancing the dance of death. On the 30th of Kartik the peasant brings from the corn-fields a ripe golden ear (*mote*), and before this is worshipped by the priest, in his cottage, he cannot gather the crop.

The festival of the new rice and the fruits in Agrahayan (December-January) is held when the crop has been garnered. In this festival not merely relatives, but even beasts and birds, the dog and the crow, are not forgotten, but are first treated with the new rice of the season before the householders can partake of it. On the same day is worshipped in the villages Navin Kartik, the old warrior-god, but one who is associated with all that is ever new and fresh. Then comes the Paushali and the feast of cakes on the last day of Paus (January), which crowns the labour of the peasant with golden success. This is *par excellence* the feast of the peasant in hilarious enjoyment. The day of the harvest home in Bengal is the day when the sun enters into the sign Capricornus (*makara*), which is identical with the Uttarayana or return of the sun to the north or to the winter solstice. This festival is called Pongal in the south of India. Pongal has been described as "an annual house-warming, or ingathering of kith and kin, and harvest-home combined; the Christmas and Whitsuntide of Europe rolled into one." The first day of Tai (usually January 15th) is called Surya-Pongal (entrance of the sun into Capricorn or Uttarayana Punnya Kalem festival of the northward movement of the sun). The word *pongol* means "boiling," and one of the chief ceremonies of the day is the boiling of the rice of the new harvest with milk and *jaggeri*, and its dedication to Vignesvara. It is a great day for social interchange of visits, and for the feeding of the poor. Most of the rites observed are in honour of the sun. The second day of Tai is known as Mattu Pongal (Pongal of the cattle). On it all the cows, bullocks, buffaloes, etc., of a family are bathed, decorated, worshipped and fed with cooked rice. In many villages the *guli-nadu* (breed-bull) is secured by

means of a stout rope and teased to a state of frenzy by a bunch of red and black rags, and a kind of bull-baiting is indulged in. The Pongal marks the commencement of the Tamil year. In reality the festival seems to be dedicated to the glorification of agriculture.

In the first breath of spring, when the zephyr blows with the scent of the mango flowers, and the young shoots of barley are green, and plums are ripe, there is the worship of Saraswati, the maiden of truth and beauty, music and the fine arts. People wear clothes of yellow and green in honour of the advent of spring, and indulge in feasts and in visits to their friends. When spring advances, on the day of the full moon of Phalguna (February-March), the people, during the well-earned rest in agriculture, celebrate in the Holi the reproductive principle in earth and man, and express the delight which the revival of nature diffuses in the animate and inanimate creation. As in the spring Saturnalia of the West, the *dol* or swing festival reflects as it were in the red powder and in the crimson bath the red passions in the rejuvenated heart of nature and humanity.

Thus are the Indian festivals in keeping with the changes of nature in all her seasonal renewals, and cyclical with the cycles of the heavens and processional with the procession of the suns. They have different meanings and ends in different parts of India. The deities to whom honour is paid in these seasonal festivals are different, and in the same province the rites and ceremonies have different interpretations, the esoteric and the popular, according to the class of people who take part in them; but the seasons remain the same and all take a real living interest in these seasonal observances and rituals, fasts and feasts.

Industrial Materialism Divorces Man from Nature.

—There is no doubt that under modern industrial and social conditions the life of the people is gradually being divorced from nature and the elemental forces with which man is surrounded. Machinery, science and intelligence move on the surface of the earth, and as the elements do they upbuild, obliterate and create; but man finds himself

in isolation. He loses touch with the earth and the elements, and, though his mastery over nature gives him self-confidence and even the joy of creation, he loses the enjoyment that comes from the friendship with trees and stones, and from playing with the elemental forces of nature, in her seasonal play ever showing a new and interesting mood to her receptive devotee.

On the East Asiatic sea-board, among people like the Japanese and the Chinese, and in the matrix of that culture, the middle east in India, among her various stocks and races we find a living touch with nature as a mark of a humane civilisation which had cut itself off in a remote past from the savagery of primitive naturalistic races with their cloddishness and their stolid insensibility to the higher imaginative and æsthetic aspects of nature's life. In these races the primitive nature-sensibility of instinct present in all folk which has constructed the orgies of fetishism, shamanism and magic has developed into a mythogony of nature-deities that from the dawn of Indian civilisation in the Vedic period to the elaboration of symbolical and ritualistic creations of the Puranas has preserved a closer affinity and verisimilitude to nature's own life, in all her variegated moods, than has been the case with the Hellenic theogony and mythogony, giving as they have done a distinctly anthropomorphic and anthropopathic cast to the personified natural attributes and phenomena. But whether in the form of the pluralistic nature religion of India, in which a strong plastic imagination revelled in the creation of symbols of the one-in-the-many and the many-in-the-one out of the materials furnished by the life of nature, or in the form of the Greek Paganism which saw the silhouette of man against the background of nature—all these nature-reactions are now gone in a social environment divorced from nature and nature's forces. The economic and social system also no longer develops human relationships. The relations of employer and employed tend to lose all humanity. The working man no longer understands the economic machinery. His perceptions are dull. Not only is his eye dimmed and his ear jarred by the constant

roar of noises, but also his heart becomes languid and feeble. The monotony of work creates a craving for excitement in times of leisure ; and it is because the complete and the creative personality is ignored and suppressed in hours of work that the purely individual and fragmentary side of it demands and obtains expression at any cost when work ceases. Not merely are the working-men treated as hands, but the employers themselves cannot resist the rush and drive, and feel like cogs in a vast machine. In restaurants and dining-rooms, variety houses and concert halls, strikes and elections, railways and tramcars, man finds that he has detached himself from the world, and divided himself from his fellow-men.

But nature cannot be mocked. Education has not been able to supply new raw materials of thought and imagination in the denatured city. Thus, the city working-man protests against his impoverished and alien environment ; immorality and intemperance satisfy a great many ; a circus, a theatre, a cinematograph, a camp meeting, a magician, a quack, with all that is melodramatic and that can raise mental forces to a primitive effectiveness, are sought by all.

Coming Renaissance in Religious and Social Life.—

A neo-naturalism and a neo-anthropomorphism will restore the nature-reactions, the loss of which has devitalised the working-man and tempted him to find the excitement his nature craves by the artificial stimulus of vice. But, in this renewal, anthropomorphism and paganism, pluralism and pragmatism will each have to satisfy the ethical needs of the individual. Nature-worship in its renewal should not encourage crouching submission and abject fear, but derive its inspiration from the self-confidence and self-knowledge that man will have newly acquired. Symbols and images will have their values continuously re-interpreted, and their meanings and purposes vitally realised so that they may not degenerate into mechanical routine and dull formulæ, or turn to anti-social uses to the destruction of the healthy texture of social life, as has been so often the case in the mediæval period of India as elsewhere. The

fact is that polytheism and symbolatry have their distinctive uses when they feed the imagination and satisfy the spirit ; but this can only be secured when there is a free creation, use and renewal thereof by the spirit of man, acting as a self-conscious, reflecting intelligence and not as the tool of a masterful image. Where the intellect wavers before the mystery of the Infinite and yet the intense emotion renders impossible the retreat of the soul, religious symbols freely arise, as fulfilments at once of the baffled intellect and the thrilling heart, and make the world alive with communions of nature, man and the Infinite. It is thus that neo-paganism will find its future in naturalism, and neo-polytheism in a pluralism, free and spontaneous, which will satisfy ethical and spiritual aspirations much better than an abstract and barren monotheism, or a mechanical and soul-killing polytheism.

They will also have their pre-eminent social values ; first, by encouraging simplicity of life and manners and dignity of character ; and, secondly, by transfiguring individual and social relationships in terms of the one and all-sufficient relation with God, which will re-create society by efforts towards the elimination of the poverty, suffering and vice of one's fellow-man inspired by the ideal of establishing a paradise on earth here and now. As in the relationship with nature, so in the relationship of man in society and in industry, the communal consciousness will express itself in ever-renewed symbolical observances and institutions, in rites, sacraments and festivals, emblematic of one common humanism that informs the various incorporate forms of associated life. In the great festivals and amusements of the East in her periodical *melas*, *snans*, *jatras* and processions, one finds a sense of the oneness of man in his generations, and the sympathetic resonance of a responsive multitude, which will represent on the human side what the pluralistic Religion of Nature of the future will represent in the relationship with nature. And over all there will be a cosmic sense newly developed in a humanity that will feel its oneness with the earth, and sea and sky and the stars in their procession. In the service of this new religion, many of the periodical

observances, festivals and pilgrimages of popular Hinduism may find a proper place invested with a new meaning and purpose. In Chandranath, on the inaccessible mountain fastness of Chittagong, or in the tempest-tossed Cape where the love-lorn maiden has put on the ascetic's garb tinged with the yellow of the palm-clad seashore ; in Jwalamukhi with her blood-red tongues of subterranean fire of Kangra, or in Sabitri with the morning sun reflected in the calm waters of the Pushkar lake ; in Amarnath or Badribishalin the majesty and expanses of the glacier-clad heights, or in the valleys of the meandering Saraju, Jumna, Cauvery or Godaveri ; in the Gomukhi falls at the source of the Ganges, in the different confluences of rivers, in their circuitous courses or their mouths at the sea, we find a spontaneous variety of the symbols of a common cosmism changing according to the mysterious moods of nature in mountain or sea, lake or desert, forest or valley.

Thus humanism, naturalism and cosmism are the triple cord binding man in his multiform groups and his historic generations to the universal scene. Indeed, in their incipient and instinctive forms all these elements are operative in their concrete embodiments and popular manifestations in the Hinduism of the masses.

Religion and Society of the Future.—But for the masses cosmism is only an environing influence which is dimly felt without being seen. Naturalism, or oneness with nature, works in the instincts and runs in the blood ; and humanism, the apotheosis as it were of all the diverse family and communal relationships, is a conscious creative force ; and these ideal human relationships, personified in mythic and semi-historical personages of the Indian Epics, Puranas and folk-lore, consciously regulate the activities of the individual in the family and in the groups. (16) Those symbols of common humanism that spring from various forms of individual and social relationships—the eternal child, the eternal youth, the eternal feminine or the eternal mother ; or, again, the god of the homestead or the eternal shepherd of the pasturage, the eternal king on the throne in his imperial grandeur or the eternal ascetic who has con-

quered death and conquered life ; or, again, the deities of the occupations and professions, deities of the homestead and village, and deities of the group and nation, and the deity of universal humanity—all these appear and freely and spontaneously renew their appearances in the Hindu pluralistic pantheon. But in the new blend of cosmic humanism which will rise out of the ashes of the old religion of man and nature, whether in the East or the West, man will rise above a mere mechanical obedience, and consciously bring himself into infinite relationships with a cosmic humanism according to his subjective and objective experiences. The eternal child, the divine mother, the eternal feminine, and the eternal Eros, the God of the nations or the God of universal humanity, it is these eternal relationships that bind man in family and in different social groups, make the bond indissoluble, and lead him to sacrifice himself to the conscious pursuit of self-realisation. And not the human alone. Nature in her sempiternal procession as well as in her tranquil rest will be clad with shining potencies apparelled in the glory of a dream—the mother earth, the ancient heavens, Spring the eternal youth, Autumn the harvest bringer, Dawn the lovely maiden, with blushing face and heart of gold, sending her outriders before the Asvins, the cherubims of lustre, Evening singing lullaby to the world in her lap, Night the mother of mystery and romance, the Saptarshis in their starry abode, the Pole Star (*Dhruva*) guide and harbinger, Mahakala the all-engulfing Void, Energy the primal mother, with creative Evolution as her handmaid, bewildering in her multiform appearances—these will be the abiding presences as symbols of nature's life, at once inspiring and overawing, kindling and restraining man in his generations. New gods will thus appear and the procession never ends ; man finds that he himself is the sole actor, and the great stage is one with the cosmos and the pulsating life of humanity. It is this new polytheistic Religion of Nature and Humanity which is at once the basis and support of Communalism and leads it towards the satisfaction of the universal ends of social life in tune with cosmic existence.

NOTES.

P. 29. *Note (1).*

Apart from the economic co-operation, periodical recreation and worship enlist in India the participation of the family as a unit within the home.

P. 29. *Note (2).*

The result is that the woman in the West progressively loses her importance and value in the family. The dissatisfaction which she feels as education goes on apace furnishes the inspiration of the feminist movement. In the West the woman is free to enter any occupation in competition with men. She thus tends to lower the wages of men, whose diminished income must support both husband and wife and children, because the woman is ordinarily expected to give up money-earning as marriage takes place. In the countries of Eastern civilisation this serious mal-adjustment, arising out of the difference in the economic position of woman in industry and the home, is avoided. There is enough work at home to keep her profitably employed; the pin-money and *stree-dhan* would provide for her own support, while work and sharing of responsibility in the field assure mutual devotion. Indeed, the woman here has adapted herself to the mode of production; there is a consistency between the economic and marriage-family mores, which, however, are now being threatened by the advent of factory production with consequent confusion and stress. How to adjust the new conditions of industry to the old mores of marriage and the family is with us a serious problem of applied economics; while the West would change the features of marriage and the family rather than the economic mores.

P. 201. *Note (3).*

The history of the ancient Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries, of trade and craft guilds in India, may be as fruitful in pointing to the development of Indian industry in the future as the history of the Christian monasteries and guilds has been to some of the economic reformers in the West.

P. 255.

Note (4).

More than a century ago the Emperor of Russia ordered the raising of a fund out of the communal revenue derived from the settlers, from which advances were to be made for agricultural improvements. When the peasants in the Baltic provinces were liberated special funds were created in the *volosts* of these provinces partly out of communal revenue and partly out of money raised by voluntary contribution. Like similar village communal funds in China and India, these were mainly for charitable purposes, but, nevertheless, they made advances under certain security. The *zemstvo* came into existence in the 'sixties of the last century. Its first endeavours were directed towards the organisation of *kustars*, and loans and saving associations. It gradually began to provide the population with seeds, implements, and live stock on credit. It built schools, roads, improved the types of live stock, and generally bestirred itself in raising the physical and moral trend of the people. The *mir*, the *artel*, and the *zemstvo* are the indigenous communal bodies which have been the solid bedrock on which peaceful constructive social work of the people was based. New kinds of societies have also rapidly sprung up—agricultural societies, credit societies, consumers' societies. Co-operative societies now build roads, telephones, telegraphs, and have even their own post offices, their own medical centres, asylums, schools, organise experimental farms, own and work coal mines and factories, and establish many other institutions serving communal interests. During and after the war new forms and methods of combined effort have appeared on the horizon. The soviet state is itself based on the framework of the old communalism. In the history of social evolution, we find that the village community was at first bound by a real and then a fictitious tie of brotherhood; the bond of common economic interest then superseded the older ties, but did not supersede the older feeling. This has been the case in Russia, China and India. In England and in France the old Teutonic village community gave place to the medieval manor as a result of Norman conquest or of Frankish or Norse occupation, but this after a long and bitter conflict. In other countries the super-imposition of Roman feudality disintegrated the natural and long-established communalism. Thus grew up in Europe extensive lordships of the emperor, of senatorial magnates and of central cities which levelled down the village community, by the steam-roller of centralisation, beyond recognition. Thus, along with the loss of economic and political autonomy of the village, the communal habits and traditions were swept away. In Russia, China and India, in spite of many vicissitudes, the self-government of local and non-local bodies,

and the economic control of the village, as well as the communal ownership of the living conveniences essential to group welfare, have persisted, and still remain, the original and essential substratum of the political and economic structure of society.

A comparison of the Slavonic, Teutonic and Eastern forms of communalism will be found in my forthcoming publication entitled *Communalism in Asian Polity*.

P. 279.

Note (5).

Out of a population of 1,200,000, nearly 892,000 occupy one-room tenements in Bombay. The number of tenements required for this beggarly state of existence is 223,000 at the liberal rate of 4 residents in each tenement. In addition, there are 15,000 tenements too rickety and bad for human habitation. The existing number of tenements being 174,000, there is need of erecting 64,000 fresh ones (*vide Capital*, Bombay Letter, August 14, 1920).

P. 281.

Note (6).

Between 1910-1915, the Corporation of Calcutta sanctioned 1,702 masonry buildings—besides huts, and between 1915-1919 only 1,628; so there was a shortage of 74 buildings. Between 1914-1915, no less than 643 masonry buildings, besides huts, were demolished by the Improvement Trust. Thus Calcutta is now at least 717 houses short.

P. 283.

Note (7).

Specimens of this type of hut or *busti* are universal. They are found by the score in the Bowbazar and Chhattawallah Gullie areas in Calcutta, where very many Anglo-Indians live and rear children in degrading squalor. The typical unit of the quarter consists of a central court-yard some fifteen by ten feet, surrounded on all sides by thatched huts built of mud. Each room gives shelter to some four or five people, men, women and children, there being one bed for the whole family, one tap and one closet for the whole colony. The rent is as high as Rs.8 a month. Sometimes Anglo-Indian families of four or five members are found living in cells which must have been originally built for storing coal, or may have been bath-rooms. The overcrowding is not conducive to a proper moral training. The temptations in the way of girls earning small salaries with which they have to feed and clothe themselves are also enormous, and it is a regrettable fact that many of the males of the community are responsible for inducing the girls to go wrong. The extraordinary immoral relations that exist among members of the same family and their near relatives is almost unbelievable

and is primarily caused by the housing conditions. Consumption and venereal diseases are general among the lower classes of Anglo-Indians. (See Report of the Calcutta Domiciled Community Enquiry Committee, pp. 73-161).

P. 305.

Note (8).

Nobody can know the actual extent of prostitution in any country. These estimates have a large margin of error.

P. 319.

Note (9).

As long as labour is cheap in Japan, China and India, and as long as European and American capital can exploit Chinese and Indian labour, the Western worker also will have no real economic liberty. There is need of organising the black and yellow workers of Asia and Africa and affiliating them internationally. But organised capitalism has created such a prejudice in Europe and America against black and yellow labour that it will take a long time for the latter to be associated on a par with Western labour in an international organisation, while the forces of capitalism and financialism are ever ready to utilise even an international labour body for sweating those workers of Asia and Africa who constitute in their eyes the proletariat of modern civilisation. In the ranks of British labour, the national section stands to the international in the proportion of ten to one.

The Washington Labour Conference recommended an 8-hour day or 48-hour week for all countries, except India, in whose case they fixed a 10-hour day or a 60-hour week. As to women workers, it was recommended that they should enjoy 2 days' leisure in the week, and should not work at night. As to young persons, the Conference fixed the age-limit at 14 years for all countries; in the case of India they fixed it at 12 years. The age-minimum for children in India is now 9 years. As regards inspection, the Conference recommended that there should be regular physicians, employed by the Government to examine the health of labourers at reasonable intervals.

Among other features of importance was the extension of the meaning of the term "factory" to an institution using power and employing as few as 10 workers. The Government of India are consulting Local Governments in connection with the revision of the Factories and Mines Acts, and hope to be able to formulate proposals very soon.

The League of Nations Covenant has laid down certain ideal standards of conduct for all nations in their dealings with native or imported labour. It is a decisive step in the gradual recognition of the elemental rights of labour by an international body.

The recognition of the right of association, the abolition of child labour under 14, and the restriction of occupations for young persons between 14 and 18 years of age, the acceptance of the principle of the minimum age, the adoption of a 48-hour week with a weekly rest, the grant of equality of status to women, the institution of a system of inspection especially aimed at the protection of workers, these are all laid down as the ideal standards of conduct towards labour. These conditions are not immediately enforceable on the contracting parties to the Covenant, and the decisions of the International Conference which will soon be convened to discuss the problems affecting wages, employment and hours of labour are awaited with anxiety.

It is sad to reflect that in the tropical regions of the world where labour is sweated labour, not organised for self-protection as in Europe and America, and where women and children are being exploited and debauched in mines, plantations and ranches, controlled mostly by white capital and enterprise, the most important provision of the Covenant relating to the limitation of the working day will not be applicable in the supposed interests of industrial progress of the countries concerned. Nowhere, however, is protective labour legislation more required than in Asia, Africa, Central and South America, which as labour reserves, and as countries producing the raw materials of European and American industry, will be made greater use of than ever by European and American capital and business enterprise for a repetition of exploitation and sweating which have accompanied the footprints of white industrialism in the luxuriant jungles and virgin wildernesses of the tropics.

The Indian Factory Act allows a working day of 12 hours' full work, the only stipulation being that there must be an interval of half an hour, in the course of the day's work, during which the machines are not to be used. The mill may, therefore, run from 6.30 a.m. in the morning to 7 p.m. at night, with only an interval of half an hour in the middle of the day for food and rest. The Indian mills run for 72 hours per week, the mills in England and America run between 42 and 48 hours per week, the mills in Japan run between 98 and 112 hours per week. In some of the Indian mines men and women labourers are known to work for 22 to 24 hours a day, or 132 to 144 hours per week, food being brought to them in the coal pits. In the case of textile workers it is provided that no child (defined as a person below the age of 14) may be employed for more than 6 hours in any one day. The employment of women and children, and also of adult males in factories where the shift system is not in force, has been prohibited, except between 5.30 a.m. and 7 p.m.

The weekly hours of work in factories as fixed by law in various countries are :—

48 hours—Great Britain (textile mills) ; Norway ; Germany ; Australia (by law in New South Wales) ; Russia.

54 hours—Assam Tea Plantation for women up to 18 years.

72 hours—India (men and women workers).

98 hours—Japan (men and women workers).

Asia and Africa are the home of the 12 and 14-hour day ; the long hours of labour mean fewer opportunities for rest and recreation, monotonous work and unwholesome employment, as well as bad housing and low standards of living. The hours a man works, indeed, frequently determine the character of his home and domestic life, his pleasures as well as his capacity to resist exploitation.

As regards the hours of labour for women, it can almost be said that Asia and Africa are the home of the 11 and 12-hour day, Europe of the 9½ and 10-hour day, America of the 9-hour day, and Australia of the 8-hour day. The 12-hour day is in force in Japan, as well as in the textile factories of the East Indies (in the other factories, 11 hours). It is most regrettable that no prohibition of employment of women about to be confined is to be found in the legislation of India. Women have been known to give birth to children while at work in our mills and workshops. Overtime work and night work are continued even in pregnancy ; while work, requiring a standing position and demanding strenuous physical exertion, is not discontinued. It is estimated that a worker, who has not worked in the factory for 3 months before her confinement, will bring into the world a child of more than 6·6 lbs. in weight. 50 per cent. of the newly-born infants of the working mothers in the Baudeloque Hospital in Paris are below the normal weight. No less harmful is an early return to work after confinement. The lying-in period of 4 weeks before confinement and the lying-in rest period of 4 weeks after confinement should be compulsory for all female workers ; while the obligation of employers to grant rest periods to women with newly-born children and to provide nursing rooms for them must be recognised in India.

A newly-aroused civic and economic conscience in India must demand: (1) a 54-hour week limit for factory labourers ; (2) a 42-hour week limit for miners ; (3) a 36-hour week limit for women miners ; (4) a 48-hour week limit for factory women ; (5) a compulsory interval of an hour in the middle of each working day ; (6) an age limit of 12 years for young persons, and a legal night rest of 11 hours ; and (7) careful adaptation of kinds of work to the needs of the woman worker before and after her confinement.

Clauses of the Indian Factory Act must also demand: (1) a

minimum cubic feet of space in the labourers' tenements; (2) a maximum disparity of 3 to 4 in the proportion of sexes in the labour quarters; and (3) a minimum number of latrines.

As regards Japan, one does not hear of the enforcement of the factory law of 1916. Japan's intense anxiety to retain the markets opened to her textiles by the war has encouraged an official tendency to excuse factories for extending the hours of labour beyond the limits prescribed in 1916. The girls who work for 14 to 16 hours have no Sundays. The working week is of 7 days, though there are certain holiday times. One shift is in the day time, say, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and the other, say, from 6 p.m. to 8 a.m. The same dormitory, the same bedding does double duty for the two batches of workpeople. There are girls from 15 to 20, girls of 12, girls even younger. In 1916, there were over 636,000 factory girls in Japan: of these 5,500 were under 12; 87,000 under 15, and perhaps three-fifths of the remainder were under 20. These girls are recruited from the villages by the agents of the factories, they are paid an initial cost of recruiting, and they work generally for three years of indenture. The number of women who are recruited as factory workers reaches 200,000 every year, but of these 120,000 do not return to the parental roof. Either they become birds of passage, and move from one factory to another, or go as maids in dubious tea-houses, or as prostitutes. The exploitation of child labour in match-works, glass-works and the like is not less serious than the exploitation of woman and girl labour.

A comparative and regional study of the different stocks and regions as regards industrial fatigue, mortality, social hygiene, dietary, the minimum age, etc., can alone furnish the real scientific foundation of the protection of labour. We have seen in Volume I. some of the fruitful applications of regional economics in this regard; at this time, when an international bond unites the labour legislation of the various countries, the study of comparative and regional economics with special reference to the limits of efficiency, the minimum food, as well as habits of life and conditions of climate so far as they furnish comparable bases of the study of labour problems, becomes more necessary than ever. The promotion of comparative research in the fields of economic and administrative science and hygiene can alone lead to an understanding of the real needs of labour and their satisfaction; for the problem of the scientific management of labour and industry is intimately related to the social arrangement and values of particular economic regions, and cannot be solved by a simple process of international control as may be employed in transportation and for the postal business. But a profound change of spirit is necessary before this can be accomplished. International economic rivalry can only be

regulated by a belief in higher ideals of civilisation than in material expansion, while the present conflict between more organised and immature economic types can only be controlled by a new reign of science and humanitarianism which will work hand in hand in the exploitation and distribution of the world's resources according to the vital needs of different peoples and zones.

P. 319.

Note (10).

An increase in the number of shifts is not always an advantage to the labourer. In the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur, the machinery is kept going for 24 hours with three shifts of 8 hours each. Owing to lack of an adequate supply of trained labour, the workmen have often to work for 16 hours, and sometimes even for 24 hours continuously. In the mines the 24-hour day is very often met with.

Voluntary overtime, which reduces efficiency during ordinary hours and is a cause of future sickness and absence, ought to be avoided by the employers so far as practicable; while compulsory overtime work, ordered under penalty of fines to be imposed on default, leads to even worse results.

In India it is very necessary also to discourage holiday work, because holidays are so inextricably woven with the social and religious life of the workmen. It is also desirable to introduce recess intervals during the working period, as well as to provide suitable place and conveniences for meals, and arrangements for washing, etc., adapted to Indian habits of life; nor should these latter be neglected in arranging suitable seats and other furniture during work.

P. 321.

Note (11).

No definite policy was evolved as a result of this strike. Thus, in January, 1920, about 200,000 operatives in the textile factories again struck work. There has been an all-round advance of 127 per cent. in the prices of necessities over the scale of prices in 1914-15; and the strike was an inevitable urge of economic hardship, and the demand for a higher standard of living. Though unorganised, the workers could yet get their demands formulated and their terms published and accepted. *Vide Capital*, Bombay Letters.

P. 322.

Note (12).

Between January and March, 1920, the number of operatives involved in the different strikes in the Bombay city alone was 160,365. In most cases the strikes were settled by an increase of allowances, grant of a bonus, reduction of workers and other minor concessions (*vide* Proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council, 17th March, 1920).

P. 324.

Note (13).

A big housing scheme, one of the biggest undertakings in the East, was introduced in August, 1920. House-building is to be prosecuted by a government department. The cost of building is estimated at 5½ crores, and of sanitation, water supply, etc., at 6 crores. The Government Housing Scheme needs modification so far as certain features are concerned. The segregation of the poor man's quarter, and the continuation of one-room tenements are no solution of the problems of city accommodation. A hundred families of labourers may be grouped into a village with an open space in the middle, as well as a community house or meeting room, a common laundry, and common bath-rooms and latrines. To bring the village into slumdom is possible under this arrangement. Co-operative housing and public utility societies, as well as community centres, should be initiated to develop the civic consciousness and enlist the co-operation of the people themselves in the solution of their problems of housing and social betterment.

P. 329.

Note (14).

Another advanced and far-sighted employer is Mr. Seeböhm Rowntree. As an investigator, an author and an authority on the whole question of labour, his books and organisation deserve careful consideration in India. His employment of 7,000 men with a capital of £3,200,000, and an annual turn-over of some £5,200,000, furnish an occasion not only for labour welfare, but also for a solution of labour problems. His garden city and model village, with its delightful houses, each with its flowers and little garden of vegetables behind deep-green hedges, the club-house and folks' hall, have all grown up on a basis of friendly co-operation between capital and labour, under a growing democratic control.

P. 348.

Note (15).

The car itself is sometimes periodically overhauled, giving an opportunity to the temple or city artisans to show the delicacy of their workmanship, and to different villages and cities to vie with one another in display. Thus religious observance plays its part in the encouragement of art and craftsmanship.

P. 397.

Note (16).

One of the reasons why Christianity appears backward and out of date, and cannot effectively fulfil its function in the West, is the simple fact that the human relationships which furnished at least a partial analogue between God and man have disappeared from the societies of Western civilisation, and there exists no available parallel.

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